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The Outlook

MAY 3, 1913

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The Montenegrin Victory

Last week Skutari fell. Thus Turkey retreats further and further "into the corner," as is graphically depicted in the first of the two cartoons from "Punch" reproduced on the next two pages. Centuries ago the Turks built fortified works about Skutari upon high hills. These fortifications have since been strengthened and thus the force of ten thousand troops or more under the efficient Essad Pasha was able for six months and a half to resist the onslaught of the Montenegrin army. A week before Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece declared war against Turkey, Montenegro, acting entirely by herself, declared war. It was certainly a striking event, that of a State smaller than Connecticut and with a population of less than three hundred thousand attacking an enemy whose area extended over a million and a half square miles and whose population exceeded thirty-five millions. The war between Montenegro and Turkey opened on October 8. It took a week for the Montenegrins to fight through the strongly fortified frontier and reach Skutari. From that time on they hammered away in a heroic effort to capture the city; indeed, though they lacked many of the resources of contemporary warfare, their attacks resembled those of the Japanese before Port Arthur. According to the Turkish commander, the final surrender was due to the fact that his provisions had entirely given out. Aside from the garrison, the town of Skutari is supposed to comprise about thirty-five thousand people, eight thousand of whom are Christians and twenty-seven thousand Mohammedans. It is a picturesque place on the lake of that name. Its capture realizes a long-cherished ambition. Although Montenegro itself has never been conquered by Turkey, the Turks four centuries ago did take this outlying town which once belonged to Montenegro; hence the Montenegrins now feel as if they were regaining some of their own territory. It is quite impossible for the ordinary European or American to estimate the strength of the anti-Turk and pro-Slav sentiment in Montenegro. As with no other people, the persistence of revenge has burned deep in the Montenegrin soul. The kapa, or cap, which distinguishes all Montenegrins is emblematic of Balkan tragedies, the crimson center typifying the sea of blood in which the peninsula has been washed by Turkey, the broad band of black silk which encircles it being a sign of mourning for the repression of the Slavs; while around the cipher of the Montenegrin king are golden bands, one for each century of strife. It is thus a notable event in Montenegrin history to have captured Skutari, and King Nicholas announced, on hearing of the victory, "Skutari will remain Montenegrin."

The Montenegrin Situation

But will it? Not if the Powers, following Austria's lead, have their way. Having lost prestige by the outcome of the Balkan war, Austria determined to secure some compensation. She apparently did so in obtaining the assent of the European Powers to her desire to name the capital of the independent State of Albania, recently erected by them. Austria's reason for this was that her influence over the new State would be greater in proportion as the capital of that State was nearer her own boundaries. So determined was Austria, indeed, that she declared her willingness to obtain her wish by armed force, and was only deterred by the more or less unwilling consent of the Powers to ask Montenegro to abandon the siege, the Powers having already obtained, as some offset, Austria's consent to the transference to Servia and Montenegro of a large territory formerly regarded as Albanian. When the Powers announced this

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CARTOON BY BERNARD PARTRIDGE, FROM PUNCH, APRIL 2, 1913

SETTLED

Dame Europa. "You've always been the most troublesome boy in the school. Now go and consolidate yourself."

Turkey. "Please, ma'am, what does that mean?"

Dame Europa. "It means going into that corner—and stopping there."

decision to the Government of Montenegro, that Government replied that it violated the neutrality agreed upon at the beginning of the war, and calmly continued the siege. On this the Montenegrin forces before Skutari were deserted by their Servian allies and the Russian Government thenceforth withheld any moral support which had been previously assured. The Powers thereupon, Russia agreeing, sent an international fleet to Antivari, one of the two Montenegrin ports. There was thus presented to the world the curious spectacle of the embattled fleets of the great Powers aligned in the Adriatic, blockading a tiny port, while the Montenegrin troops were only persisting the more resolutely with their siege on the rocky heights above. The effect of this little nation's calm disregard of the crowd of huge European Powers has nowhere been so vividly described as it has been by "Mr. Punch" in the second cartoon that accompanies these paragraphs. It is announced that the capture of the Turkish fortress will not alter the decision of the Powers to incorporate Skutari in the State of Albania. But—and this materially may well be a big "but" to Montenegro—the Powers have now agreed, so it is reported, also to grant to Montenegro, as a complete offset for Skutari, not only a very large territory in northern Albania to the east, as well as half of the Sanjak of Novibazar, but also

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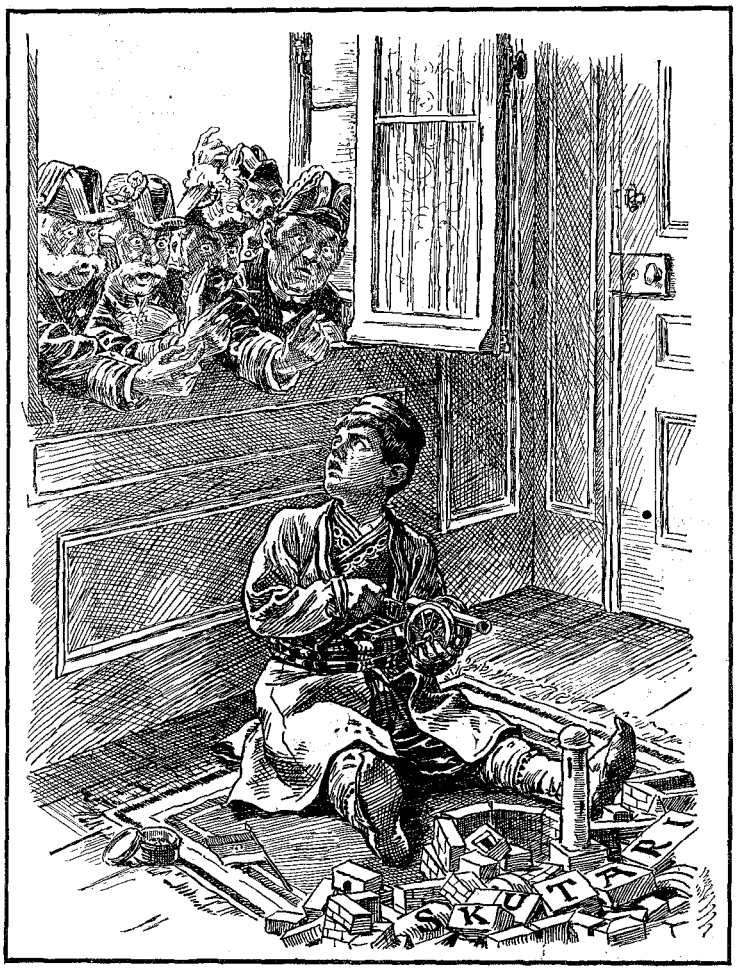

CARTOON FROM PUNCH, APRIL 9, 1913

FIVE KEELS TO NONE

The United Powers. "Come outside, young 'un, we've prepared a nice little demonstration for you."

Montenegro. "Oh, go away, you silly sailor-men; can't you see I'm busy?"

the seacoast from the port of San Giovanni di Medua to the present Montenegrin border, and a feriile region close to Skutari itself.

The Effect on the Slavs

Despite Austria's reported request to the Powers to take measures to force Montenegro to evacuate Skutari within forty-eight hours, failing which Austria herself would intervene in force, Montenegro stands unterrified. Austria is reported to think that a force of forty thousand men would be sufficient to subdue Montenegro. This is refreshing in view of the fact that the little country has been able itself to muster a force of fifty thousand men, and also in view of the old proverb with regard to invading forces which reflects the barren character of the country: "In Montenegro a large army starves to death, a small army is defeated." It is also the more notable in view of the fact that, no matter what governments may do, peoples will not always follow. On the very day when the Russian Government redeclared its adherence to the programme of the Powers, there was a great popular demonstration at St. Petersburg in celebration of the Montenegrin victory, including a Te Deum service at the Kazan Cathedral, which drew an immense crowd. Many officers were present. Several thousand persons afterwards formed a procession and

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marched through the streets singing patriotic songs, and as the processions passed by the officers at the barracks saluted. Even more significant demonstrations occurred in Austria itself wherever the population was Slav. At Prague, the capital of Bohemia; at Cracow, formerly the capital of Poland; at Agram, the capital of Croatia; at Ragusa, the Dalmatian city, and at numerous other Slav centers, the demonstrators were brought into conflicts with the Poles, as the demonstrations often took the form of fierce antagonism to the Vienna Government's policies. Let Austria have a care, therefore. A Government which almost created a general European conflagration by mobilizing its army to uphold Teuton as against Slav interests, which threatened Servia in a series of flimsy pretexts, and which later actually "held up" the Powers by an arrogant ultimatum, may feel "forward," but cannot defy too much the sentiment of the whole Slav race. Slav admiration for Montenegro, their plucky protagonist, whose declaration of war began the Balkan crusade of liberation, remains unbounded. The Montenegrin spirit also commands the sympathy of liberty-loving people everywhere. "Even if forsaken by every one," says King Nicholas, "Montenegro, conscious of her glorious past and her ideals, will continue the struggle. She may possibly yield to superior force, but never in the dishonorable way proposed by European diplomacy. Montenegro has not lived five hundred years in darkness by the will of Europe, but by the blood of her best sons. She will only yield now by the shedding of blood. She can die but once and die gloriously." Who with a drop of red blood in his body will refuse a tribute of admiration to this declaration?

The Belgian Strike

The Belgian strike has excited interest everywhere. It has been the largest attempt ever made, in proportion to population, to influence political action. Out of a population of about eight million, no less than four hundred thousand men relinquished work a fortnight ago as long as might be necessary to secure universal suffrage. Ten days later the Government capitulated and the Socialists voted to end the strike. The Government's capitulation was, of course, definite enough to lead the Socialists to feel that they could demobilize their forces and await the course of events. The events should be favorable to the strikers, if we may judge from the Belgian Prime Minister's statement in Parliament of the Government's intentions, a statement promptly placed on record by a vote of the Chamber of Deputies. Thus the Belgian Constitution is to be finally readjusted so that actual conditions will be in greater harmony with its text. Article 6 of that Constitution reads: "All Belgians are equal before the law." This seems to have been interpreted to mean, not that all Belgians are to be equal in the exercise of the franchise, but that they must equally submit themselves to the law's requirements, and that they have the same right to claim the law's protection. Now, however, equality of suffrage is, we hope, to be assured. This is a sufficiently impressive result of the strike. But there is another result, in our estimation equally impressive, namely, the evidence of the strength, solidarity, and discipline of the Belgian strikers. Never, so far as we know, has a strike been more admirably managed. Its purpose was quickly attained because expressed with an absence of disorder and violence. Thus the strikers showed their fitness for unrestricted suffrage. What a contrast to suffragette methods in England!

The Marconi Muddle in England

Two members of the British Cabinet and the chief Whip of the Liberal party are under fire for certain investments which they have made in the American Marconi Company. The criticism is that they have violated the sound rule of conduct that members of a Government shall not be investors in any concern with which the Government is involved in contractual relations. The facts, which are, we believe, admitted, are these: Sir Rufus Isaacs is the Attorney-General, Mr. Lloyd George the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of Elibank the chief Government Whip. All three, therefore, are important members of the Administration. Last year the Government entered into a contract with the English Marconi Company for the use of the Marconi system of wireless telegraphy at stations in different parts of the British Empire. A brother of the Attorney-General, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, was a director in both the English and the American Marconi companies. At a time subsequent to the signing of the contract, Sir Rufus Isaacs, through another

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brother, Mr. Harry Isaacs, invested in shares of the American company. His colleagues, Mr. Lloyd George and the Master of Elibank, did the same. In October a question was raised in the House of Commons as to the action of the Attorney-General in sending a public telegram to be read at a banquet in New York, held apparently to further the promotion of the American company. Sir Rufus defended himself against any charge of impropriety in sending the telegram, but did not reveal the fact that he was in any way interested in the American company. His investment and those of his colleagues became known later, we believe, through an action for libel brought by them against the Paris "Matin." Subsequently the whole matter was taken under investigation by a Parliamentary committee. The acts of the three members of the Administration have been the subject of severe criticism and heated controversy. The London "Spectator" is apparently the chief spokesman for the critics. That journal explicitly and repeatedly disclaims any suggestion of corruption on the part of the Ministers involved. It does, however, take them severely to task for what it describes as their lack of "the discretion, the delicacy, and the carefulness of public interests with which they ought to have acted." This seems to be the gravamen of the charge against them. It raises an interesting question in regard to the acts of members of an administration in relation to their private financial affairs.

The Responsibilities of Official Position

One principle, we believe, would be agreed to by every one. No member of an administration should be pecuniarily interested in any undertaking in which the value of his interest may be affected by an act done by him in his official capacity. Obviously, if Sir Rufus Isaacs had been a stockholder in the English Marconi Company at the time that the contract with the company was under consideration, he should have either disposed of his holdings or dissociated himself so definitely from the negotiations (if that were possible) as to make it crystal clear that he was not involved in a dual relationship to the company of owner and of negotiator on the public's behalf. Such, of course, was not the actual situation. His relationship to the company began after the contract was executed, and it was the American company, not the British, in which he invested. A second principle would, we presume, meet general acceptance. It was well set forth by one of the Law Lords, Lord Robson: "Nobody, indeed, can put himself above suspicion, but you can avoid putting yourself in circumstances to which suspicion would naturally attach." This is surely a sound principle of action for the individual, even if it is not admitted that it is a principle to which, under all circumstances, others have a right to demand that the individual adhere. Cæsar's wife ought, of course, to do everything she can to keep herself above suspicion; but the only way she can do it is by keeping out of situations in which suspicion would naturally attach to her. We believe that every member of the British Cabinet would agree to these two rules of conduct. There is not the slightest evidence that the two members and their associate outside the Cabinet have swerved from the first rule. Whether they have departed from the second is somewhat more open to debate. In view of the looseness of the connection between the two companies and the inherent improbability that anything the members of the Administration might do in their official capacities would have any influence on the value of their holdings, we do not believe that they have put themselves in circumstances to which, under the normal conditions of ordinary life, suspicion would naturally attach. But the conditions of political rivalry in England, or for that matter in any country, are very different from the conditions of ordinary life. Under circumstances involving a continued and heated contest it was well-nigh inevitable that suspicion should be directed at such acts as those of Sir Rufus Isaacs and Mr. Lloyd George, however far removed they might really be from any actual impropriety. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney-General made a serious mistake in not recognizing this fact.

The German Armor Scandal: The Charges in "Vorwärts"

"Vorwärts," a Socialist paper of Berlin, publishes the text of instruction sent by the Deutsche Munitions und Waffenfabrik Company to its Paris agent, instructing him to "leave no stone unturned" to persuade some popular French newspaper to publish a statement that France intended to double her orders for machine guns, the object being to persuade the German Govern-

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ment to give machine gun orders to the Deutsche Waffenfabrik. This is a serious charge; so serious as to be incredible. It should not be accepted except on proof. But this is not all that is charged. "Vorwärts" continues:

> The Minister of War has repeatedly emphasized in recent statements in the Reichstag the strict correctness of all the transactions of the War Ministry. We desire humbly to inquire whether he considers the editing of special advertising numbers of illustrated weeklies and the begging for advertisements by his department strictly correct.

The journal then announces that the War Ministry edited, assisted in the compilation of, and invited advertisements of, armaments firms for the Military Number of the "Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung," produced on April 10, at sixty cents a copy, with the express object of stirring up public feeling on behalf of the Army Bill. "Vorwärts" publishes an official memorandum issued by the War Ministry to these firms urging them to advertise in the "Illustrierte Zeitung." The publishers' circular accompanying the War Office memorandum, says "Vorwärts," points out that the number would be sure to "make a deep impression in Germany and create an enormous sensation abroad."

The German Armor Scandal: Government Action

Another Berlin paper, a very radical but not a Socialist sheet, the "Morgen Post," also explains how army and navy societies spring up to preach war with the unconcealed financial assistance of the armor plate firms, how files of pensioned officials steadily perambulate through the country preaching war, how the armor firms subsidize German newspapers to conduct crazy campaigns of hatred against France and England, and how these same firms sell weapons to the German Government at higher prices than to the nations their press is paid to abuse. It concludes: "The armaments factories pay thirty per cent dividends, but the German taxpayer is treacherously sold." In regard to the assertion that an article had been printed in the Paris "Figaro" in order to foment agitation in Germany for an increase of German armament, the "Figaro" indignantly denies that any such suggestion was made to it. As the French press is for the most part significantly silent, it is assumed that other charges made in Germany may have overreached the mark. For an armor-plate maker to employ agents to stir up bad blood between any two nations so that he may sell more goods; for him to organize clubs for the cultivation of the war fever; for him to subsidize newspapers which shall preach war; or for him to sell his goods at reduced rates to hostile nations so that their warlike preparations may make his home Government indulge in similar purchases—and at higher rates—this is beyond anything that has ever been charged against army contractors in America! We are glad that the German Parliament has empowered a committee to investigate all armament contracts; and our confidence in the essential thoroughness and integrity of the German nation is such as to make us believe that this scandal will be sifted without fear or favor. We earnestly hope, for the sake of common humanity, that the accusations will be disproved.

The California Land Law Agitation

The principles which underlie the grave problems raised by the proposed anti-alien land legislation in California are considered in an editorial elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook. No actual step in advance or in retreat was made at Sacramento last week. The bill which passed the Assembly is of a hybrid nature, in that in its main provisions the limitations as to ownership and leasing relate to aliens who have not declared their intention "according to law" to become citizens; while the provision as to corporations forbids ownership when a majority of the stockholders are aliens "ineligible to become citizens of the United States under the naturalization laws thereof." The importance attached, whether rightly or not, to the distinction between these two definitions is indicated by the stress placed upon this point in President Wilson's telegraphic letters to Governor Johnson, and through him to the Legislature and people of California. In the first of these, sent in Mr. Bryan's name, the President "very respectfully, but most earnestly, advises against the use of the words 'ineligible to citizenship;'" he even goes so far as to say that the Senate bill is greatly to be preferred. In the second letter, signed by the President personally, he says: "If they [that is, the California Legislature and people] deem it necessary to exclude all aliens who have not declared their intention to become citizens from the privileges of landownership, they can do so along

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lines already followed in the laws of many of the other States, and of many foreign countries, including Japan herself." This accords with the two statements on the alien law question made public by Governor Johnson. In both he declares that California would not attempt to do more than has been done by other States, and points to laws against alien ownership in the District of Columbia and in the States of Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, and Washington, in all of which the acquisition of land by aliens is made to depend upon the purpose of becoming citizens. The President's effort to indicate at this stage what may be done without contravening treaty rights seems to many to be a premature attempt to decide what can really be decided with authority only by the Supreme Court. It would have been wiser if the Administration at the very outset—not after excitement in Japan led to talk of a serious clash between the two nations—had openly suggested to California, first, that the California legislators, before passing laws dealing with international matters, should assure themselves by consultation with the Federal Government that the laws proposed were not incompatible with the treaty and the Constitution; and, second, that if laws doubtful in this respect should be passed, the Federal Government would instantly put the matter to the test in Federal courts, and until a final decision was obtained would prevent injustice and loss to individuals, whether Californians or Japanese, by injunction from Federal courts. Not to advise or to protest against the wording of laws, not merely to urge recognition of the international character of specific legislation, but to assert the right and power of the National Government to uphold its treaties and its Constitution, on the one hand, and the rights of the people of California, on the other, was what the case called for.

Mr. Bryan's Mission to California

The country cordially indorses the President's hope that nothing may be done to embarrass our Government "in its dealings with a nation with whom it has most earnestly and cordially sought to maintain relations of genuine friendship and good will, and that least of all do they desire to do anything that might impair treaty obligations or cast a doubt upon the honor and good faith of the Nation and its Government." But the country also believes that it should be made clear that the National Government in the ultimate analysis must lead and not follow in whatever relates to National honor and National obligation. The telegraphic correspondence to which we have referred was followed by President Wilson's proposal that the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, should visit California, if agreeable to the Governor and Legislature, for the purpose of counseling and co-operating with its members in framing a law "which would meet the views of the people of the State and yet leave untouched the international obligations of the United States." Governor Johnson and the Legislature promptly indicated their pleasure in having the opportunity to consult with the Secretary of State, but (rather significantly, we think) made no reference to the proposal of "co-operation." One comment quite generally made upon the sending of Mr. Bryan to California is that when the State was agitated over Japanese exclusion from the schools, the Mayor of San Francisco went to Washington to get the Government's view, while now the Administration sends its representative to California to get the State's view—a reversal of procedure, it is argued, not altogether consonant with National dignity. It is improbable that the California Senate will take any action for some little time after Mr. Bryan's arrival this week.

Is There a Japanese Peril?

Entirely apart from treaty obligations, or questions as to the relative rights and duties of State and Federal authorities, it is of high moral importance to ask whether California has ground for being seriously disturbed about Japanese landownership. However disguised the phraseology of the bills proposed may be, and whether or not they are technically correct, legally and constitutionally, American public sentiment throughout the country will deeply resent it if, without adequate reason or cause, one State shall take action which gives offense or seems humiliating to a nation with whom our relations are now friendly and are increasingly intimate. In point of fact, statisticians who have looked into the alleged dangerously large control of land in California by Japanese say that, including both ownership and leasing, the Japanese control less than one-third of one per cent of the State's total arable land, and that the amount has decreased instead of increased within the last two or three years. A Japanese who was formerly special agent

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of the United States Immigration Commission has compiled a book upon the Japanese in America, which states that in 1912 the Japanese owned only 12,726 acres, an amount of land almost negligible in comparison with the enormous size of the State. And in reply to the fear that, small as this land control is, it may rapidly increase, it should be borne in mind that Japan has acted with perfect sincerity and effectiveness in preventing Japanese emigration to this country, as she agreed to do when Mr. Roosevelt, as President, brought about a friendly settlement of the questions raised by the former agitation in California; so that the total number of Japanese residents is decreasing. When the question as to the Japanese in the California schools was investigated, it was found that the number was very small indeed, and that the very real problem involved was perfectly capable of settlement without offense to Japan and through local regulation. When we remember the excitable methods of labor leaders in California, it may seem quite possible that the landownership question has not received that thorough examination and consideration which should precede legislation. Dr. Teusler, a director of St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo, who is now in this country, has investigated this question in California, and reports that the Japanese own fewer than 25,000 acres, acquired during a period of twenty-five years, and he exclaims: "What is 25,000 acres in a State of 158,360 square miles!" Of course the reply is that the time to deal with a racial problem is when it first arises; and if those who say that the problem is increasing are right, the smallness of the acreage involved is not so significant. Dr. Teusler also shows that the restrictions upon foreign ownership of land in Japan are far less stringent than have been generally supposed. As regards the agitation and excitement in Japan which followed the situation in California, those who are inclined to exaggerate the facts may with benefit read these words from a newspaper interview with Captain Uyeno, a military attaché of the Japanese Embassy in London: "Such a thing as war between America and Japan," said Captain Uyeno, "is impossible. Such a thing will never happen. There is a war element, if you care to call it that, in all countries, but the best element in Japan, as in all other countries, is for peace, and Japan to-day entertains nothing but the friendliest feelings for the United States."

The Vice-President and Social Unrest

Two statements recently made by Vice-President Marshall have occasioned much comment in the newspapers. One of these statements ascribed to him is as follows:

> Men of judgment have expressed to me the opinion that if a vote were taken on a proposition to make all estates above the sum of $100,000 revert to the State on the death of the owner, the $100,000 being exempted, it would be carried two to one.

There is nothing to indicate that Mr. Marshall shared this opinion. He used it evidently to emphasize the fact that there is great social unrest and widespread discontent with the way in which wealth is distributed. As in the case of other exaggerated or fantastic statements used to call attention to some actual fact, the discussion has all centered about the illustration, and has ignored the point that Mr. Marshall wished to enforce. If Mr. Marshall has taken this opinion seriously, he has done what we should not suppose any intelligent and informed man would do. There used to be an idea that Socialists advocated something of this sort; but no one who has followed the tendency of modern Socialism any longer believes that the Socialists want to divide up private property after any such fashion. Mr. Marshall, however, is right in his opinion that there are a great many men of wealth who have no conception of the thoughtful discontent that great masses of their fellow-men feel. The other statement by Mr. Marshall has also caused comment and invited a great deal of criticism. It was made in his Jefferson Day speech in New York on April 12. He was trying to convince "backward-looking and inward-looking men" (in contradistinction to those men whom President Wilson has described as "forward-looking") that the security of property depends upon the popular belief in the justice of property rights. In order to do this he called attention to the fact that it is erroneous to suppose there is an inherent and constitutional right to pass property from one generation to another. Said Vice-President Marshall: "The right to inherit and the right to devise are neither inherent nor constitutional, but, upon the contrary, they are simply privileges given by the State to its citizens." This statement has been treated as if it were an argument for doing away with the right of inheritance. Of course it is no such thing. It is simply a statement of legal

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fact. Of that fact there is no doubt. There is nothing in the American Constitution to prevent a legislature from dealing with inheritances as it wills. In some countries the right of bequeathing property is very markedly limited by law. In France, we believe, the law makes it impossible for a man to disinherit his own child. By inheritance taxes the law in some countries appropriates from every estate that passes from its owner at death a large proportion for the use of the State. There is nothing to prevent any legislature from acting on the principle that a man can control his property only so long as he lives and not after his death. The fact is not at all a suggestion that it would be desirable for any legislature to enact a law appropriating every estate upon the death of its owner. There are very sound reasons, however, for the belief that there is a great opportunity for providing a wiser distribution of wealth in the power which the State possesses over the transmission of property at death.

The Colorado Legislature and Conservation

The extent to which the opponents of Conservation are willing to carry their opposition is indicated by a memorial to the President and Congress adopted by the Legislature of Colorado and signed by the Governor. While declaring that "the people of Colorado are in favor of Conservation in the meaning of prevention of waste and monopoly," it declares unmistakably and emphatically against practically every feature of the movement that has made Conservation possible. Furthermore, it repeats the arguments that have been stated again and again by those who have been open and persistent opponents of every Conservation measure. In this respect the Legislature of Colorado has performed a service. The pamphlet in which this memorial is printed may serve as a brief summary of the principal reasons offered against any Federal Conservation movement. It thus helps to make the issue clear. Nothing, for example, could be more emphatic or explicit than the statement: "We deny that it is right or advisable for the Federal Government to retain the title to, and lease the public land for any purpose." The form of argument, moreover, indicates the intensity of the opposition. For example, with regard to the exercise by the Federal Government of power over rights of way in the Federal domain, this memorial says, with especial reference to reclamation projects under the administration of the Federal Government: "These projects and enterprises should not be made by officers of the Reclamation Service an excuse for the refusal to approve of rights of way and occupancy of lands under private irrigation projects." In the use of this term "excuse" hostility to the policy of Conservation is expressed as definitely as if it occupied pages of print. Still further, the Colorado Legislature commits itself to the view that, after all, private enterprise is the best force on which to depend for the protection of natural resources. This is sufficiently shown in one sentence: "The man who is willing to put his labor and money into the development of a mining claim is the person best fitted to classify the land, and should be permitted to acquire it." The Colorado Legislature turns again to a criticism of the whole leasing system. Let us quote two sentences:

> Without the value the presence and industry of our people have added to them, there is not a dollar's worth of value in any of our natural resources. Every dollar, therefore, charged in the form of royalty on the products of these resources is a tax on human toil.

Apart from the fact that this is a *non sequitur*—for the natural conclusion from the first sentence might equally be that dividends derived from the products of those resources are a private tax—this represents an uncompromising opposition to the leasing of any of the public domain by the Government. It is needless to continue quotations to indicate that this memorial expresses a policy with regard to our natural resources which believers in Conservation regard as directly leading to the greatest waste and the most certain monopoly. Those who believe that natural resources in possession of the Nation can be protected adequately only by Federal action should take notice.

The Anti-Trust Law and Labor Organizations

At the last session of Congress, toward the very close of the Taft Administration, Congress passed a Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill. This measure provided money for the conduct of various branches of the Federal Government. One provision in this bill forbade the use of money thus appropriated in proceedings to enforce the Anti-Trust Law against labor unions and farmers' organizations. There were three objections to this provision: first, that it was a piece of general legislation tacked on as a "rider" to an

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appropriation bill; second, that it left the Anti-Trust Law unchanged, but prevented in part its enforcement; and, third, that it was class legislation, singling out wage-earners and farmers for favoritism. President Taft vetoed the bill because of this "rider." Of course the Government must have money, and some kind of Civil Appropriation Bill must be passed. The House has now passed the bill again, and in doing so has kept the "rider" as a part of it; and it has been favorably reported in the Senate. The third objection, that the provision singles out a class for favoritism in legislation, we do not think is quite valid. The Anti-Trust Law is aimed at those combinations that tend to monopolize any commodity. Those who regard labor as a commodity, like shoes or beef or oil or steel, naturally argue that a labor combination should be treated like an oil trust or beef trust. Those, however, who, as we do, regard labor as human beings in the mass, and labor organizations as organizations of men formed not to control a commodity but to control themselves, believe that the legal restraint of labor organizations should be on a different basis from the legal restraint of trusts. Both kinds of combination should be under governmental regulation, but as the one kind differs in character from the other, so the form of regulation applied to the one should be different from that applied to the other. There is no more class legislation in this than in treating tenements in a different way from one-family houses, or the inspection of food products in a different way from the inspection of school children. If the Anti-Trust Law, as interpreted by the courts, does treat both kinds of organizations alike, it ought, we believe, to be changed; but the rider on the Appropriation Bill does not change it. On the first two grounds this "rider" is distinctly objectionable. First, it is an attempt to take advantage of the necessities of the Government in order by indirection to enact a measure which ought to be subjected to the fire of debate. This is always bad, whether the measure itself is meritorious or not. Second, it is not a real amendment even by indirection—it is simply a command by Congress that one of its own laws shall not in all respects be enforced! Even if the position be taken that Congress never intended the law to include associations of men organized for their own self-protection, the law is not what the inner thoughts of Congressmen and Senators considered it to be when enacted, but what it has been decided to be by the courts. If Congress believes that the law cannot be enforced against such associations, the provision prohibiting its use to that end is unnecessary; if Congress believes that it can be, and yet ought not to be, so enforced, Congress should change the law.

The Firemen's Award

Most people of the East who use the railways have reason to be profoundly thankful. Instead of wondering how they may go from place to place as their needs require, and how they may obtain food and the other necessities of life that come to them daily by rail, they are moving to and fro on the railways and getting their commodities—because there is such a thing as Industrial Arbitration. As our readers know, the firemen on the principal railways in the eastern part of the United States made certain demands upon the railway companies with regard to wages and conditions of labor. For a while a strike seemed imminent. No one can conjecture what the results of such a strike might have been. The term "industrial war" is no exaggeration. The physical and moral evils of war in industry are at least as pronounced and real as any form of war. These evils were avoided by the employment of a better method of settling industrial disputes. Under the Erdman Act a board, consisting of Albert Phillips, representing the firemen, W. W. Atterbury, representing the railway managers, and Judge W. L. Chambers, chairman, representing the public, heard the evidence and last week readered their findings. The decision they reached was unanimous. It allowed an increase of wages greater than the managers wished to grant and less than the men stipulated in their original demand. This wage increase, however, instead of being calculated from July of last year, as the men argued that it should be, takes effect, according to the general provisions of the Erdman Act, ten days after the award is filed. In this, it seems, the men had no great cause for complaint, inasmuch as it was they who argued strongly for the observance of the Erdman Act in the constitution of the arbitral board. In respect to conditions of work the men have profited very largely by the arbitration proceedings. Though their proposal that two firemen be employed on a certain type of

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engine was denied, a method was provided by which specific cases of disagreement as to the use of one or two firemen could be settled by arbitration. The firemen's proposals that helpers in electric service should have the same conditions as firemen on steam railways; that the firemen in pusher and helper service, mine runs, and in work, wreck, belt-line, and transfer service, should have the same rates as in through freight service, that the working day should be ten hours or a hundred miles or less (the general practice), that the day should begin when a man reported for work and end when the engine was delivered at the designated place, and that the firemen should be relieved of certain of their duties that are done on many roads by round-house employees, were granted. Will such a decision increase the cost of transportation? If it proves that it necessarily does so, the public ought to be willing to pay. No man ought to wish to travel at the cost of his fellow-men who serve him on the railways. It does not necessarily follow, however, that such an award will increase the cost of transportation. If it makes for increased efficiency, it may actually reduce such cost. It is not inconceivable that such an award may result in moral and physical benefit to the railway owners and managers, the railway employees, and the public alike.

A Double Labor War

The strike that has been going on for many weeks among the silk mill workers of Paterson, New Jersey, has involved, in addition to all the usual objectionable and wasteful features of a labor war, the singular spectacle of two great labor organizations warring one against the other—namely, the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World. When one reads of the bitterness of the fight between the mill-owners and the workers, of the charges of violence made against the workers, and the charges of unnecessary and improper force made by the workers against the police, the one thing that impresses the reader's mind is the contrast between this archaic battling and the reasonable settlement of such disputes by the Protocol method, as recently in New York and Boston, and by arbitration, as with the railway firemen. It is said that in Paterson twenty-five thousand men, women, and children have been thrown out of work for two months. Meanwhile the Industrial Workers of the World have been represented by their two most prominent orators and organizers, W. D. Haywood and Elizabeth Flynn. There have been enormous demonstrations; at the funeral of an innocent man, totally unconcerned in the strike matter, who was shot to death during a street disturbance by a private detective, over four thousand of the strikers marched in procession wearing red ribbons or red carnations, which they threw in the grave of poor Vallanio. The American Federation of Labor appears to have attempted intervention for the twofold purpose of bringing about a settlement of the strike and of organizing the workers under the Federation plan. This means the forming of unions on the basis of trade lines—for instance, all weavers in one union, etc.; while the Industrial Workers of the World are following here, as always, their basic plan of organizing by industry; thus they call out in this strike all the people employed in the mills involved, without regard to their special work. Paterson is being injured severely in all its trade; wages, it is said, to the amount of nearly two million dollars have been lost by idleness, and the general situation is about as bad as it can be. Hatefulness and strife once more have shown their inadequacy to deal with questions of industrial justice and equity. Fifty years hence we believe that a strike of this character will be unthinkable.

Social Laboratories and School Lunches

The idea of social laboratories for testing the soundness of new social activities before their general adoption by municipal or State governments is rapidly spreading. The munificent gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson of $650,000 for this purpose to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor marks a new era in this field, and assures a more scientific testing of these social activities than has heretofore been possible. Under the terms of this gift experiments will be made in matters relating to public health, to the physical welfare of school children, and to the numerous problems connected with the food supply. It is expected in particular that New York City will test the effect of medical inspection of school children, of dental clinics, of proper methods of ventilation and sanitation of school buildings, and of furnishing hot school lunches at cost price. It will

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also make it possible to determine the effect of public baths upon public health. These and other experiments fundamental in any programme of social welfare will be undertaken. One of the most interesting, however, of these experiments is that of feeding school children at cost. For several years a voluntary committee of public-spirited citizens, under the effective leadership of Miss Mabel Kittredge as chairman, has been supplying, in a half-dozen public schools in New York City, hot school lunches at approximately food cost. These lunches are served to children at two and three cents each, each portion being one cent. It is the desire of Mrs. Anderson to extend this experiment to some sixteen schools, to establish central or group kitchens from which several schools can be supplied, thereby reducing the cost, and to make it possible for the School Lunch Committee to study scientifically the effect of such lunches upon the children and their capacity for school work; and in general to determine, as a result of this laboratory work, whether the principle of hot lunches to school children at cost should not be extended to practically all sections of New York and other municipalities.

Mr. Roosevelt's Visit

So much has this work attracted the attention of public-spirited citizens that a visit to the work was recently arranged for Mr. Roosevelt. He was greatly impressed with the amount of nourishing food that could be supplied to the children at this cost. He was impressed also with the effect which this work has upon the families of the children in showing them how to supply nourishing food to their children at a very moderate cost. The training that the giving of these lunches affords to some of the older girls in the school who regularly assist in serving interested him especially; and the numerous push-carts which were congregated in front of schools not maintaining school lunches, from which Mr. Roosevelt saw children buying pickles, sticks of licorice, and other food with little nourishment and exposed to all kinds of street dust and uncleanliness, were a very convincing argument to him, as they would be to any keen observer, for the continuation and extension of the excellent work which has been done by the School Lunch Committee in New York City. In a similar way other social experiments are to be made by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and the new Department of Social Welfare which will conduct these experiments will be under the direction of Mr. Bailey B. Burritt, who has for some years been engaged in social work in New York City, whose selection for this work has just been announced by Mr. John A. Kingsbury, the General Director of the Association.

Port and Starboard

The decision of the Navy Department to substitute, in giving orders to the helmsmen of war vessels, for the time-honored words "port" and "starboard" the more prosaic words "right" and "left" has aroused much comment, some regretful, some indignant, some humorous. It is suggested that the change will afford aid and comfort to the landlubber on his first ocean voyage. When he inadvertently announces that he is going "outdoors" instead of "on deck," or "downstairs" instead of "below," or declares that his room is on the "top floor," or reports that he has been looking at the phosphorescence over the "back" of the boat, he will be able to feel that he has high authority for his translation of hoary sea terms into the language of every-day land-faring life. One newspaper paragrapher pictures an old sea-dog of a captain in an emergency ordering a sailor to "go to the front and look over the fence and find out what's the matter." The opportunities for quips afforded by the new order are legion. But to be able to poke fun at an innovation is not necessarily to condemn it. The regret and indignation, on the other hand, are probably largely due to a misapprehension of just what the change involves. It applies only to the orders given by the officer on the bridge to the man at the wheel. Instead of the command to "port," the command will be "right;" instead of the command to "starboard," it will be "left." The reasons for the change are clear when it is realized what the old practice was. Let us take an example. A battle-ship is coming into harbor in a fog. An officer is on the bridge navigating the ship. A quartermaster is at the wheel. Suddenly a ship looms through the fog on the starboard bow. The battle-ship must go to port to escape a collision. The officer calls out, "Hard a-starboard." The wheelsman repeats the order and spins the wheel to port. The battle-ship sheers off to port and the danger is averted.

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Helm and Wheel

The origin of this apparent confusion lies in the change from a helm or tiller to a wheel in steering. With a helm, the steersman, when he wished the ship to go to port, put the helm to starboard. When the wheel was substituted for the helm, the wheel was originally made to move in the same direction as the helm, and the old order was naturally retained. Later the wheel on most vessels—especially steam vessels—was reversed, but still the old command was retained. On many sailing craft the logical change has already been made; the captain wishing his boat to go to starboard gives the order "starboard," and the wheel is turned to starboard. On the battle-ship, however, observe the mental involutions necessary for the execution of this simple maneuver. The officer, seeing that the ship must go to port (to the left), gives the helmsman the order "starboard" (right). The helmsman, hearing the order "starboard" (right), understands that he must turn his wheel to port (to the left). Both officer and helmsman must translate, the one his observation, the other the command which he receives, into diametrically opposite terms. The officer sees "port" and says "starboard;" the helmsman hears "starboard" and acts "port." For the officer the motion of the ship's head which he desires to bring about is the exact opposite of the order which he gives; for the helmsman the order which he receives is the exact opposite of the movement he is to effect.

Right and Left

Now what would happen under the new rule? The officer will see that the ship must swing to the left. He will give the order "left." The wheelsman, hearing the order "left," will twirl the wheel to the left. The ship's head will turn to the left. There will be no crossing of lines, no translation of terms, no confusion of ideas. From the moment the officer thinks "left" until the ship turns to the left, there will be involved but one idea, one word, one motion—"left." The result will be simplicity in giving and receiving orders, certainty and rapidity in comprehending and executing them. The need for some change is pointed out by the General Board of the Navy in its statement recommending the adoption of the suggestion of Rear-Admiral Schroeder. The Board, at whose head is Admiral Dewey, says:

> Every watch officer of experience can recall innumerable cases where, especially with new steersmen, the command to *starboard* produced first a motion of the wheel to *starboard*, and then the proper movement in the opposite direction as the man at the wheel remembered his teachings and reversed his first instinctive motion. Because of the many errors made, sometimes by a careless or sleepy steersman, resulting in a hard-over helm the wrong way, came a cardinal rule for the officer of the deck to personally go and see whether his orders with regard to the helm had been carried out.

The arguments presented by the Board in support of its recommendations are weighty. It is suggested, on the other hand, that it will be unfortunate to have a different practice in our navy from that of other navies and that of the merchant marine. But it is very seldom that any change like this is made simultaneously or unanimously. If the change is good—and the experts at the head of our navy believe it is—the best way is to make it and hope that our good example will be followed. The contention that it is not good to change anything that has been in existence for centuries is one that makes a stronger appeal to sentiment than to practical common sense. In 1846 the term "port" was substituted for the immemorial word "larboard," and the heavens did not fall nor our navy cease to win victories. The only question should be, Is the change a good one? On this question our naval experts are the best judges.

Mr. Morgan's Will

The last will and testament of the late John Pierpont Morgan is a document of more than ordinary interest. Of the confession of faith with which the will opens we speak elsewhere. After reading the testator's orderly and detailed directions, the impression left on the reader's mind will be, we believe, the same as was left on Mr. Morgan's hearers' minds after his recent testimony before the Pujo Committee at Washington; that is to say, the elements of confidence and character are everywhere emphasized. We find these elements, for instance, in the provisions with regard to property standing in Mr. Morgan's name, but really, in his estimation, belonging to his banking firms, and in the direct disposition of his residuary estate without the creation of a trust—often the practice with regard to great estates. We also find these characteristics in the provisions concerning the art collections. There is, of course, special popular interest in regard to the wonderful collections which for many years Mr. Morgan has been gathering of paintings, miniatures, porcelains, and other works of art.

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The ownership of these collections passes to Mr. Morgan's son, but the testator expresses the hope that his son will be able, "in such manner as he shall think best, to make a permanent disposition, or from time to time permanent dispositions, of them, or of such portions of them as he may determine." As Mr. Morgan did not find time to devise the best way to render them "permanently available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people," he confides to his son the distinction of carrying out the intentions which he cherished. On the human side, the public will be impressed by Mr. Morgan's generous bequests to all of his employees, whether in a domestic or a business capacity, and also with the provision for the continuance of all allowances and payments which he had been in the habit of making to all persons and charities. Thus this will seems alive with the testator's characteristic vitality, energy, far-sightedness, and attention to detail. No such document made public in recent times has, we believe, awakened so much public attention or inspired a more respectful and admiring consideration.

JAPAN, CALIFORNIA, AND THE UNITED STATES

The issue raised between the United States and Japan by the proposed land legislation of California is already serious, and may easily become very serious. There is no present danger of war, but there is serious danger that by a fatuous policy we may make an enemy of a nation of which we might easily make a firm and fast friend, and this without any injury to our National interests or any departure from our well-settled National policy. The Japanese are a proud, sensitive, and plucky people, with some of the Oriental tendency to seek their national ends by indirection. The Americans are an energetic, pushing, and self-satisfied people, with the provincialism of youth and the tendency to pursue their purpose by a direct path, regardless of the requirements of diplomatic courtesy. In both nations are unprincipled politicians and an unprincipled yellow press. Whoever at such a time attempts to stir up in America hostile feeling to the Japanese is the enemy of his country, and by the sober-minded majority of Americans is regarded as their enemy. We ask our Japanese friends to remember that demagogues are also to be found in other democratic communities than America, and that it is harder for us to live with them than for the Japanese, who have only to endure the echoes of their demagogism.

The issue is so grave that it deserves the consideration of all thoughtful citizens. Details of management must be left to the few, but the essential facts in the case and the fundamental principles by which the Nation must be guided ought to be known and understood by all the people. We here attempt to state those facts and principles briefly and clearly.

1. Every nation has a right to determine whom it will receive as settlers and citizens within its territory. For its determination of this question it is not accountable to any other nation. This right is clearly recognized by international law and is freely exercised by all peoples. It underlies the passport system which until recently was in vogue in all European nations and still is maintained by some of them. The people of the United States have a perfect moral and legal right to close their doors to Germans and open them to Italians, or close them to Italians and open them to Germans; to close them to Chinese and open them to Japanese, or close them to Japanese and open them to Chinese. No nation has any right to complain of exclusion. The Japanese have a perfect right to prevent, as they do, Americans from becoming landowners in Japan. If there was any danger that Americans would settle in large numbers in Japan and imperil Japanese industry and Japanese prosperity by their presence, the Japanese would have a perfect right to forbid such American settlements, while leaving their ports open to English, French, or Germans.

2. But we have no right to make a treaty admitting the citizens of a foreign country to our territory and then exclude them. We have no right to make such a treaty and then allow one of the States of the Union to exclude them. We have no right to exercise the right of exclusion in a brutal, brusque, and discourteous manner. If we desire to exercise that right, it is our duty to do so in a courteous manner, without insult, and by amicable agreement if possible.

3. In 1911 the United States made a treaty with Japan which contains (Article I) the following clause:

The citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter,

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travel, and reside in the territories of the other; to carry on trade, wholesale and retail; to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops; to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native citizens or subjects, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established.

4. This treaty is the supreme law of the land. The United States Constitution explicitly provides that "all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or the laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Senator Root has well said that this clause necessarily implies an expectation that some treaties will be made in contravention of the laws of the States. When such a treaty is made, it is clear that the treaty supersedes and annuls any law of any State which is inconsistent with it.

5. Do the proposed California land laws violate the provisions of this treaty? We do not know, for we do not know what those laws will be when they are finally formulated and passed. We cannot express a judgment of any value respecting a law before it is finally formulated. But if any credence is to be placed on newspaper reports of the purpose of the California legislators, they are endeavoring to frame a law which shall violate the spirit of the treaty, while avoiding express terms which contradict its provisions.

6. Who shall determine whether the land laws of California as finally passed are or are not in conflict with the Japanese treaty? Not the State, but the United States. The right of a State to nullify a Federal statute was claimed by Calhoun; and that right of nullification has been emphatically and at great cost repudiated by the Nation. It cannot now be revived. It is for the people of the Nation, not for the people of California, to determine whether a State law violates an international treaty which by the Constitution is made the supreme law of the land.

7. The President has wisely appealed to the people of California to pass no legislation which contravenes the spirit of the Japanese treaty. Agreement between the Federal and the State authorities is in every way desirable; but if his persuasive argument fails and a law is passed to which the Japanese take exception, on the ground that it violates the Japanese treaty, the President should take counsel of his advisers on the subject. If, as a result, the Federal Administration comes to the conclusion that the California land law does not violate the treaty, the President should say to the Japanese nation, "We are within our treaty rights." He should protect the people of California with the whole moral and, if necessary, the whole physical power of the Government. If, on the other hand, the Administration comes to the conclusion that the land law does violate the treaty, the President should take instant steps before the Federal courts to have the execution of the land law stayed until the question can be determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, which is the final interpreter of the supreme law of the land, and he should say to the Japanese people, "These land laws will not be executed and the Japanese residents in the United States will not be disturbed under these land laws until this question is settled by the Federal Government." It would have been well if, before the situation reached an acute stage, the President had made it clear both to California and to Japan that he intended to follow this course.

8. This is the law of the land, and this ought to be the law of the land. In foreign affairs the Nation must act, because foreign Powers cannot and will not be permitted to deal with the separate States, and where the Nation is ultimately responsible it must exclusively and fully meet its responsibility both to foreign nations and to the people of any State in the Union who may feel, as the people of California now feel, that their rights are not sufficiently protected. It was recognition of this fact by our forefathers that led to the substitution of our present National Constitution for the old and loose Articles of Confederation. The people of the United States have the absolute right to determine for themselves who shall and who shall not be admitted within their borders, who may be permanently settled within those borders, who may become citizens of the Nation and with all the privileges and prerogatives of citizenship. Such right cannot be denied to the people of the United States by the people of any foreign Power; neither can it be denied to the people of the United States by any individual State.

9. If the people of California saw any

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objection to this treaty, the time to interpose that objection was when the treaty was before the Senate for ratification. No such objection was interposed; the treaty was ratified unanimously. The Outlook did at the time question the wisdom of the section quoted above, but, as far as we know, The Outlook stood almost alone in so doing—an experience to which it is not altogether unaccustomed. We said: "President Taft believes that 'a gentleman's agreement,' which now exists in the form of an exchange of notes between the two Governments, sufficiently protects us in the exercise of our right to regulate Japanese immigration, and he therefore urged the ratification of the new treaty. It seems to The Outlook a grave question whether it is wise for either Government concerned to ignore the immigration question." The two Governments did, however, in this treaty ignore the immigration question, and the result has been, as it often is in such cases, that the refusal to meet frankly a question when it arises creates a greater and more serious form of the same question at a later date. If the people of California tardily discover an objection to the treaty which their representatives in the Senate were not far-seeing enough to perceive two years ago, their remedy is not legislation to nullify the treaty; it is an appeal to the Nation to negotiate a new treaty, a treaty which will meet the needs of the people of California, and do it in such manner as will insure reciprocally just treatment between Japan and the United States and give no just cause of offense. If the United States made a mistake in negotiating the treaty of 1911, as The Outlook at the time thought it did, the remedy is not a careless disregard of the treaty, nor a skillfully contrived evasion of it, but a frank recognition of the fact that a mistake has been made, and an honest and courteous endeavor to secure through amicable negotiations a new treaty. If that endeavor should fail, it will then be time enough to abrogate the present treaty. But there is no good reason to believe that such an endeavor would fail.

10. The Outlook repeats what it said in the discussion of the Japanese immigration question at the time when the present treaty was pending in the United States Senate: "In the interest alike of Japan and America it is eminently desirable, and indeed indispensable, that there shall be no immigration *en masse;* that there shall be no attempt on the part of Japanese cultivators to own land here; that no Japanese workmen or small merchants shall come to ply their trades here." But there is a right way and a wrong way to secure this result. The wrong way is to make a treaty which allows, or seems to allow, such settlement of Japanese in this country, and then allow a State to nullify that treaty by open violation or by skillful evasion. The right way is by diplomatic negotiations to substitute a new treaty which will protect alike the rights of the Japanese to control Japan without interference from America, and the right of Americans to control America without interference from the Japanese.

11. The sum of the whole matter may be stated in a sentence thus: Who may come to America, who may settle in America, who may become citizens of America, who may enter into the trade and commerce and life of America, are questions to be determined for America by America, not by the people of any one State for the Nation. The acceptance of this fundamental principle and its application to the present conditions would secure a settlement alike honorable to Japan, to the State of California, and to the United States.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY AND THE DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS

By means of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution the people have taken from the Legislatures and into their own hands the right to name the Senators of the United States. By means of laws establishing direct primaries the people are taking out of the hands of party leaders and into their own hands the right to name candidates for elective office.

Evidently the American people are desirous of assuming new responsibilities and exercising new power. This is a very definite tendency. Is it a tendency away from representative government and toward what is called a "pure democracy"? It has sometimes been so considered, especially when taken in connection with the adoption in several States of the initiative and the referendum, by which the people in an election can enact laws. This is a mistake. Whether the initiative and the referendum indicate a tendency away from representative government or not, the direct election of Senators

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and the direct nomination of party candidates indicate a tendency quite in the other direction—a tendency toward a more truly representative government.

Representative government has two essential characteristics. The first is that the people govern *through representatives*. This distinguishes it from pure democracy, where the people govern directly, without the interposition of representatives. The second characteristic is that the people govern through representatives *selected by themselves*. This distinguishes representative government from autocracy, aristocracy, despotism, boss rule.

Both of these characteristics are essential. Neither can be dispensed with without changing the form of government from one that is representative to one that is something entirely different.

The purpose of the direct primary is to preserve the second characteristic—the selection of representatives by the people. In so far as it accomplishes this purpose, it is, not an attack upon representative government, but an aid in its preservation and perfection.

Anything which tends toward having the representatives of the people selected, not by the people themselves, but by a few individuals, whether experts, high-minded patriots, the best citizens, or otherwise, tends to destroy this characteristic of representative government and hence to turn representative government into something different—something conceivably better, but *not representative government*.

Wherever the direct primary has been adopted in such a form as to take away from a few individuals the power to name candidates who shall represent the voters of a party and to place that power in the hands of the people of the party, it has made representative government more really representative.

So with the direct election of Senators. Hereafter the Senators elected by popular vote in any one of the forty-eight States will represent that State. The fact that an Iowa Senator is not elected by the Iowa Legislature but by the Iowa people will make him not less but more representative of Iowa. There has been a great deal of confused thinking—or at least confused writing—on this. It has been solemnly said that the new amendment has changed the essential character of the Senate as a body of men representing the States as such, simply because they are to be no longer chosen by the Legislatures—as if the Legislature were the State. Does not the Governor of a State elected by the people of the State represent the State as truly as if he were elected by a Legislature? There is every reason to believe that for the very reason of his popular election he represents the State more truly. The Seventeenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution is a movement, not away from, but toward, representative government.

There is another objection, however, to direct nominations by the party voters which applies equally to the direct election of Senators by popular vote. Let us state it as it appears in a recently published editorial article in the New York "Sun," on the primary bill urged by Governor Sulzer and pending in the New York Legislature:

> Governor Sulzer's primary bill presents all the customary provisions of this class of legislation. The convention must go; the ballot must be changed in form to the further embarrassment of illiterates and the confusion of all voters; the magic of statutory enactment is to strip power from those who devote their time and talents to politics, and by some mysterious process impose it on those who have hitherto been too lazy, too cranky, or too careless to put out their hands to grasp it.

This, of course, is fundamental. It is directed against, not some change in the form of representative government, but against representative government itself. It is based on the theory that the most elementary factors in government—the determination of policies and the selection of the men who are to hold places of highest responsibility—are necessarily so complicated and technical that they cannot be intrusted to the people themselves, and should be left to "those who devote their time and talents to politics." This is therefore not an argument against direct primaries or direct election of Senators, but against all popular self-government. It is aimed, not against "pure democracy," but against any kind of democracy.

It is true that government in many of the States has been complicated and technical, and that the process of choosing public servants, and especially of choosing party candidates for public office, has been involved in such intricate machinery that the ordinary man has felt himself helpless whenever he has tried to have anything to do with it. Under those circumstances it is not surprising that the whole machinery of government has been left to the care and control of professional politicians. That, of course, is

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what most professional politicians—being human—want. The more technical, involved, mysterious the process of choosing so-called "representatives" can be made, the more surely will the professional in politics have an advantage over the amateur.

Reformers sometimes flay the "ordinary citizens" for the neglect of their civic duties, and declare that, if these ordinary citizens took as much pains with public affairs as the boss and his henchmen, they could rescue the public business from its despoilers. Exactly, if—. But that "if" is a begging of the whole question. The ordinary citizen can become as skilled as the boss only at the price which the boss pays—the abandonment of private business in order to make public business his vocation. The more complicated the machinery, the more necessary it is for the man who runs it to be a skilled mechanic. So long as the process of selecting the representatives of the people is kept involved and complicated, so long will that process be left in charge of the few who can afford to become professional politicians.

There are thus only two ways of securing improvement in public business. One is by improving the breed of professional politicians—that is the method of benevolent despotism. The other is by simplifying the process of selecting representatives, through direct elections, direct primaries, and the short ballot, so that the ordinary citizens can take their part—that is the method of free government.

MR. MORGAN'S RELIGIOUS FAITH

The declaration of his religious faith with which Mr. Morgan began his will has made a wide and profound impression by its simplicity, directness, and forcefulness of expression.

No one has ever accused Mr. Morgan of indulging in formal and perfunctory language. His declaration of faith has not excited, as far as we have seen, any theological or philosophical discussion, although it has excited unusual comment. It has been accepted everywhere as a perfectly natural expression of a deep-seated conviction on the part of a man who all through his life was accustomed to express freely his deep-seated convictions in temporal matters. It is an interesting confirmation of a statement made in these pages two weeks ago by a friend of Mr. Morgan's. This friend is Robert Bacon, formerly one of Mr. Morgan's partners, and later Secretary of State and Ambassador to France. Mr. Bacon said in his tribute to Mr. Morgan: "I should say that he was more actuated by spontaneous inherent qualities, by optimism, by a faith so basic that it was unconscious or sub-conscious; but underlying all this he was a man of very real and deep religious convictions. He rarely spoke of religion, but no one who knew him intimately could fail to realize what an ever-present force it was in his character." The impression that the declaration of faith in Mr. Morgan's will has made upon men of affairs has been so well expressed by Mr. Theodore H. Price, the editor of "Cotton and Finance," in a recent editorial in his excellent weekly, that we reprint it here as a comment worth the attention of every active man of affairs:

"Immaterial rather than material influences must occupy the first place in any consideration of that portion of the world's history which has been in the making during the past week. For those that believe (and who does not?) that 'things which are seen are temporal, but things which are not seen are eternal,' there is profound significance in two facts chronicled by the newspapers within a day or two.

"One is that the new Chinese Government has officially appealed to all the Christian Missions in China to set aside Sunday, April 27, as a day of prayer that China may be guided to a wise solution of her problems.

"The other is the opening declaration in the will of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, which reads:

> "I commit my soul into the hands of my Saviour, in full confidence that, having redeemed it and washed it in His most precious blood, He will present it faultless before my Heavenly Father, and I entreat my children to maintain and defend at all hazards, and at any cost of personal sacrifice, the blessed doctrine of the complete atonement for sin through the blood of Jesus Christ, once offered, and through that alone.

"Those who think that an allusion to such subjects is irrelevant in a paper professing to limit itself to the discussion of mundane economics are poor students of the world's history. The science of economics is, in the last analysis, a consideration of the influences which promote or lessen society's material progress. Of such influences none are more important or profound than those which are idealistic or religious."

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A FRIENDLY DEBATE WITH AN UNKNOWN FRIEND

BY LYMAN ABBOTT AND B. W. KUNKEL

THE FRIEND

BECAUSE I probably lack the "eye of faith," certain statements in Dr. Abbott's article on Rudolf Eucken in The Outlook for March 1 seem to me to be obscure and in a measure to lead to hazy thinking. In the hope of clearing up my own thoughts, as well as those of other readers, I feel impelled to ask one or two questions.

Can we really draw a hard and fast line between the visible and invisible worlds in which we live? According to the above article the visible world is appreciated by the senses, the invisible by experience. What, I ask in all earnestness, makes up experience besides sensations and the memories of those that have passed? According to the Century Dictionary, experience is the state of having acquired knowledge; the sum of practical wisdom taught by all the events of life; knowledge gained by external and internal perceptions; a fixed mental impression. It seems to me that sense organs are involved entirely even in "internal perception," which I can conceive only as the vague sensations that originate within the body, producing the uneasiness of illness as well as the exuberance of abounding health. Though difficult to locate and to refer to definite sense organs, they are none the less real sensations which leave their impress on us.

As I try to analyze experience I find several factors which begin with sensation and which involve their memory and their sequence. Every stimulus of a sense organ leaves its impress on the memory if it reaches the brain and is converted into a sensation, and, in leaving an impress, colors, as it were, future sensations. For example, the tepid water seems unbearably hot on the hands of the boy who has just been playing in the snow, but the same water may apparently be very cold after washing his hands in hot water. Should the hands never be immersed in tepid water except after the application of snow, our experience with reference to water would be wholly unlike our experience if it were applied only after hot water. What I would emphasize particularly is that we live in a world of sensations and that the closest we can ever become acquainted with our environment and the only experience we can ever have is through the sense organs. Experience in the last analysis must be in terms of sensations.

Our experience also depends on the order in which the stimuli are received. I remember well my work in the chemical laboratory in which a mixture of various chemical compounds was subjected to a series of reagents which when used in the proper order allowed the various elements in the mixture to be determined in a characteristic way. If the reagents were used in a different order, different results would be obtained and the constituent elements could not be recognized in the same way. The original mixture to be analyzed may represent my mind, each reagent a sensation, the array of precipitates separated by the reagents my experience. My experience, then, depends upon the action of certain sensations in a certain order on my mind; alter any one of the factors, mind, sensation, or sequence, and the experience will be altered.

To quote from the article once more: "The invisible world of joy and sorrow, love and hate, conscience and greed, contentment and disappointment, hope and despair, self-gratulation and remorse," is distinct from the world of sensation. When I think of contentment, my memory goes back to an old friend of mine at a city mission who embodied most perfectly my ideas of contentment. He praised God for the very scraps of meat which a hotel gave him from the plates of its guests and which he carried home for his invalid wife to make stew of. He knew contentment, and I envy him for it, and I would be the last one to undervalue contentment simply because it can be referred to sensation. But, as I have thought about this old fellow, who had been a prize-fighter in his youth, had spent many months in prison for a variety of offenses, and had "got religion," and at the time I knew him was a respectable and happy old man of seventy, I have become

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more and more impressed with the idea that sensations of a certain kind were at the bottom of his contentment, and that contentment or any other state of being cannot be separated from sensations. He would not have been contented in his younger days with the food I used to see him carrying home, I know from what he told me time and again of his early life. He had had an experience, a group of sensations which had reacted upon his mind to produce a state which we call contentment. He had seen and heard words accompanied by other sensory impressions at a certain time in his life and with a certain force that affected him as I have never been affected. He reacted to these stimuli in a fashion we describe as "being converted." The conviction came to him through the sound of words and memories of past sensations that the quality of his food and in fact of all material things were utterly valueless in comparison with the mental picture he had stored in his mind of a Redeemer, and the memory that he must be obedient to the desires of Christ. Far be it from me to deny the reality of the invisible world and the precious conceptions of the Christian religion; all I would emphasize is that sensations, either objective or subjective, are the background of all experience, so that we cannot make the hard and fast line between the material and the invisible world.

Joy, contentment, love, all the ways of looking at life, seem to me to be referable to sensations, in spite of the fact that they abound even in a blind and deaf Helen Keller, who lacks the most important avenues of approach to the material world. To be sure, the number of sensations she receives a day is less than that of a normal individual with all the sense organs functional, but still the sensations she does receive are probably more vivid than those we normal individuals ordinarily receive; and because of her extraordinary memory her recollections of past sensations is unquestionably more perfect than ours, so that the total experience of Helen Keller is undoubtedly richer than yours or mine.

What is meant by "We know the material world by examining it, we know life only by living"? We know the material world only through the activity of our sense organs, but it would seem to me that we know life only by recalling sensations we have received in the past. Life is activity of a very special kind, and activity I appreciate only through the sense organs. We know sight only by seeing, quite as much as we know life only by living.

Do I know love myself? Yes, both subjective and objective love; but I am not at all certain that love is not a product of sensations and memories of impressions stored up from the past. I know a father's love for his infant child. I see my little one's utter helplessness and dependence, her responsive smile to my ministrations and play. I recall the pictures of my own infancy in the words of my parents; I recall the descriptions of and allusions to paternal love in spoken and written word. I recall the results of a lack of love; so I love my child. Were I devoid of sight and hearing and touch and memory, I cannot conceive a love for my child. Possibly the deceased parent continues to love the child. I don't know. I do know that the evidences of love cease with breathing, and that, whether I want to believe love to be eternal or not, the fact remains that we have no evidence of love apart from life.

Beloit, Wisconsin. B. W. KUNKEL.

THE REPLY

My correspondent has put here very clearly his view of human life. I will endeavor to put my view with equal clearness and with equal brevity. I put it largely in quotations from others, in order that my readers may know that this view is not peculiar to myself; it is entertained by a large number of careful students of life, and has been from the days of Plato to the present day.

The contrast between the two views is very clearly put by Herbert Spencer in the following sentences: "Unlike the ordinary consciousness, the religious cousciousness is concerned with that which lies beyond the sphere of sense. A brute thinks only of things which can be touched, seen, tasted, heard, etc., and the like is true of the young child, the untaught deaf mute, and the lowest savage. But the developing man has thoughts about existences which he regards as usually intangible, inaudible, invisible; and yet which he regards as operative upon him."

I agree with the opinion of the developing man. I believe that there are existences which are intangible, inaudible, invisible, and yet which are operative upon us. This view I share with an overwhelming majority of the plain people, of all races and all conditions, of all religions and all epochs—peasants and kings, poets and practical workers,

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philosophers and statesmen, men and women. That it is the general view of developing man does not prove it to be true. But I am so much of a democrat that I have more faith in the general experience of mankind than I have in the refined theories of a limited number of special students.

Says Tennyson,

"Speak to Him, thou, for He hears,
And Spirit with Spirit can meet."

I agree with Tennyson. I believe that I can speak to One who is unseen and unheard, but not unknown. And I believe that He can and does speak to me; that we talk with one another; that He inspires my fainting heart with courage and my troubled heart with peace; that He guides me with His counsel in perplexity and comforts me with His presence in sorrow.

Says Forbes Robinson: "When I get quite quiet, and my mind is sane, and my conscience at rest, when I almost stop thinking and listen, I am quite sure that a Personal Being comes to me, and as he comes brings some of his own life to flow into my life." Of that I also am quite sure. I do not believe that this experience of communion with an invisible Person is explained by the statement that "we know life only by recalling sensations we have received in the past."

"Hear and thy soul shall live," cries Isaiah. I believe that there is a divine voice which we can hear and which brings to the soul that listens for it newness of life, even though the soul knows not whence nor how that life comes.

God breathed into men the breath of his own life, says the Hebrew poet in his portrayal of man's creation. The poet in this statement interprets a perpetually renewed process of divine life-giving. God is always breathing into man the breath of his own divine life, illuminating, inspiring, encouraging, strengthening, comforting, truly creating. This life of God in the soul of man is the common experience of devout souls—pagan, Jewish, and Christian. It is broader and more human than any creed; it is deeper and more vital than any opinion. Philosophy has not given this experience and philosophy cannot take it away. But though philosophy has not given it and philosophy cannot take it away, philosophy confirms it.

My correspondent's letter came to me just as I was reading the volume of the French philosopher, Emile Boutroux, on "Science and Religion." From the last page I quote the following sentences—a report, it is true, of Professor James's philosophy, but a report which evidently implies Professor Boutroux's approval: "The productions of genius are like revelations of a world other than our own. In a general way man's aspirations are disproportionate to his actual condition. These facts are explained if we admit that, on the side of his being which transcends his conscious self, man is related to another world than that which comes within the reach of his senses—to beings whom for this reason we may call spiritual."

The article which my correspondent criticises was based on Professor Eucken and was little more than an attempt to interpret his philosophy in terms of our common experiences. That he believes with Tennyson that "Spirit with Spirit can meet" underlies his whole philosophy. For example: "Spiritual life is definitely raised above human existence. Man does not originate spiritual life, but he is capable of attaining to participation in it." "Man appears great in his relationship to spiritual life, but small as an isolated individual; his life becomes an incessant search after his own being, and in this sense alone can it give rise to true history." "*The corner-stone of all philosophical thought and the axiom of axioms is the fact of a world-embracing spiritual life.*"

The italics are Eucken's. I repeat them because to me the sentence gives the true clue to the interpretation of life.

I believe that I am a spiritual being, temporarily dwelling in a material body, living in a world of spiritual beings, who are also temporarily dwelling in material bodies. If my correspondent asks me, What is spirit? I reply, I do not know; I only know its experiences: love and hate, joy and sorrow, hope and despair, aspiration and endeavor, and above all power to see an unseen ideal and freedom to form the resolve and devote my life to the endeavor to realize that ideal for myself and for my fellow-men. These spiritual forces are not characteristic of the material universe; they are not analogous to the material forces, such as light, heat, and electricity. The senses do not create this spiritual life. They are instruments through which the material world and its forces can act upon the spirit; they are instruments through which the spirit can act on the material world and its forces. But the spirit is superior to these material forces, masters them, uses them.

If my friend affirms that the invisible Spirit which holds communion with men does

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so by producing an impression on the brain and through the brain on the soul of man, I reply, Possibly. I can neither affirm nor deny his hypothesis. But it seems to me a pure hypothesis, and does nothing to affect my conviction that I am more than the sum of all my bodily organs and my life is something more than the sum of all their sensations.

And I believe that the fountain and source of this spiritual life is the Infinite Spirit, in whom we live and move and have our being. He is interpreted to us, not by nature and its forces, but by the spirit of man and his aspirations. Prayer is not an endeavor to make this Infinite Spirit do our bidding and fulfill our will. It is an endeavor to ascertain the will of this Infinite Spirit and fulfill his purpose. History is what Hegel has called it, "the carrying out of God's plan." To work with this Infinite Spirit and have some small share in His design, to co-operate with Him in completing the creation which He has begun and which will not be completed until the world and its forces, including the body and all its organs, have become the perfectly obedient servant of the purified and perfect spirit which dwells within the body, is my ambition.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York.

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

A POLL OF THE PRESS

THAT the question in California is not local but National and international in character is shown by the press comments in all parts of the country.

As to existing land conditions the current report of John P. McLaughlin, Labor Commissioner of California, "himself violently anti-Japanese," according to the New York "World" (Dem.), indicates, as reported in that paper, that the Japanese own 12,726 acres of land, an increase since 1909 of 1,935 acres. A different estimate made by Dr. Teusler is referred to on another page. There are about 12,000,000 acres of agricultural land in the State. In Mr. McLaughlin's report it is said that Japanese lease 17,596 acres, a decrease since 1909 of 2,698 acres. The Oakland "Tribune" (Rep.) says: "The landholdings of the Japanese in this State [California] are inconsiderable. George Shima is the only large Japanese landowner in California, and the only offense he has committed is making potatoes more abundant and cheaper."

As to existing conditions of population the New York "World" adds that "the anti-Japanese agitators always speak of 'the hordes of Japanese who are pouring into the State.' According, however, to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for 1911 and his bulletin for March, 1912, as stated in the "World," the number of Japanese in California decreased 4,933 during the two years and nine months preceding the last-mentioned date. Thus, "as a matter of fact, the Japanese population among us is not increasing, or likely to increase," affirms the San Francisco "Chronicle" (Ind.), and adds: "The number now here is not large enough to seriously affect any interest. There is no doubt of the existence of all necessary legal power in the Nation to deal with the Japanese question as it sees fit. It will be best for us not to invoke the exercise of that power. We are not suffering in any way which justifies the risk." The Pasadena "News" (Rep.) concludes:

> Chinese exclusion has not benefited California. If we permitted a limited influx of the race our horticultural interests would not have to depend so completely on the Japanese, and our housekeeping burdens would be immeasurably lightened. Drat this racial prejudice, this narrow, bigoted point of view, anyway!

The treaty of 1911 with Japan says that the Japanese may "own or lease or occupy houses, manufactories, and warehouses and shops," and may "lease land for residential and commercial purposes." In return, in deference to American wishes, the Japanese Government agreed to restrict the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. "Japan has kept faith," avers the New York "Globe" (Rep.). "Since 1908 the entry of Japanese at San Francisco has almost ceased, and there has been an actual diminution of the number of Japanese. As Japan has kept faith, so must this country. Faith is not kept when new legislation, practically discriminating against the Japanese as the proposed California legislation would do, is enacted."

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But, according to the New York "American" (Dem.), "California is right, legally right, constitutionally right, morally right, ethnologically right, right for her own best interests, right for the best interests of the whole country, including New York, and right for the best interests of all the citizens of this country, including the citizens of New York—even the class of congenital toadies and tories. California is within her State's rights, guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, when she decides that individuals who have not been naturalized may not hold land within her confines." Moreover, "California is acting to her own best advantage in making such a law, because the Japanese would not make good citizens and do not make good residents. They are a race which this Nation cannot and should not assimilate. They would inflict upon us another and greater race problem than we have yet dealt with, and we already have race problems which are difficult enough to solve." The "American," which is universally recognized as typical of the sensational press, then details as follows:

The Japanese in the numbers in which they are invading California are not only objectionable, they are dangerous. They begin by occupying a small portion of a district and making themselves there so obnoxious by their personal attitude and Oriental peculiarities that the Caucasian residents of that district soon become willing to sell their properties and leave the section. The Japanese then buy up these depreciated properties at bargain prices and bring in more Japanese to extend the ill effects of their colonization.

The Japanese are never on good terms with their Caucasian neighbors. They never employ a Caucasian when they can employ a Japanese. They live encysted in their Orientalism, as a foreign growth within the American body politic, an ever-increasing danger to the well-being of our social and political system. These Japanese are not, and never will be, and never want to be, Americans. Worse than that, they are actively and essentially antagonistic to American ideas and to the welfare of the American Nation.

They are Japanese citizens. More than that, they are Japanese soldiers, and when their numbers become sufficient they may at any time become a Japanese army directed definitely, positively, and powerfully against the Government and the people of this country.

The exchange of cablegrams between the State Department at Washington and the Foreign Office at Tokyo will not settle the Japanese question of California, remarks the Toledo "Blade" (Prog.). "Lecturing the people of the Pacific Coast for interfering in international affairs will not settle it. The problem is there and bids fair to stick until just one thing is done—the placing of restrictions upon Japanese immigration and Japanese occupation of land and Japanese commercial developments." The "Blade" continues:

It is a matter of great importance that the friendly relations with Japan shall not be strained to the breaking point. But it is far more important that the Pacific coast of America shall remain a country in which a white man can make a living, can be on terms of intimacy with his neighbors, and can maintain the standards of living and morality which he thinks proper.

So that if Japan's dignity is going to be injured, and if she must find some other land on which to quarter her surplus population, she might as well suffer these hurts and inconveniences now as upon some other day.

It is time for the whole Nation to decide, exclaims the Detroit "Journal" (Rep.) and the other pro-California papers, "whether the interests of Japanese capital, or the wording of a carelessly drawn treaty, are more important than the interests of the Caucasian race on this continent." This newspaper continues in an anti-Japanese strain.

In contrast to such anti-Japanese comments are to be found such editorial expressions of appreciation of the Japanese people as the following from the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) "Press," which, however, recognizes the right of California to first consideration:

The Japanese, a sensitive people, resent any discrimination against them. They believe, since they joined in with the Western nations by the adoption in 1889 of a constitution, that they are entitled to some consideration. Their victory over plodding China, the old China, in the war of 1894-95 gave them a world prestige, and when, ten years later, they triumphed over Russia the Japanese won a position abreast of the most modern of nations. They feel that they should be entitled to make their way in any part of the world they choose to live in.

Most interesting of all comment is that of the California press. For instance, the Sacramento "Bee" (Prog.) declares, as do many California papers: "As a matter of fact, the alien land bills before the Legislature have no more application to the citizens of Japan than to those of any other nation. They conflict with no Japanese treaty right or obligation, and would not have the effect of denying to Japanese any right or privilege which Americans have in Japan." On the other hand, not all California papers are anti-Japanese. The San Francisco "Evening Post" (Ind.) says: "California has worried along without these laws for fifty years, and no great injury has resulted." The San

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Francisco "Chronicle" (Ind.) comments: "To enact such a law is to make every commercial nation on earth a virulent enemy of California, with most effective powers of retaliation, which human nature assures us would be put to immediate use. If California insists on boycotting aliens, its people may expect with perfect confidence a return boycott which will make us squirm."

The San Francisco "Argonaut" (Ind.) points out the futility of the alien land law, which it says is not needed in any case, as there is no general movement of Japanese to acquire land in America. To show how easily such laws are evaded, it points to the failure of the Mexican prohibition of the foreign ownership of land within ten miles of the international boundary. The "Argonaut" reasons as follows:

In cases of this kind there is always the easy plan of having some dummy carry the title; and there are forty other devices entirely within the law which come to the same thing. . . . Some years ago our neighboring State of Oregon had a law prohibiting aliens from owning lands, with the effect that formal title in all instances of alien ownership was held by an attorney or some other person especially chosen under an easy arrangement of guarantees. It matters little whether the law be passed or rejected, since in any event whoever wants to acquire our lands and has the money to pay for them is not likely to be estopped. At the same time it would in Japan be regarded as a gratuitous affront—futile, to be sure, but none the less an exhibition of an inhospitable spirit.

The Los Angeles "Times" (Ind. Rep.) extends its greetings to "the amazing State Legislature at Sacramento," and begs its members to adjourn and go home at once without "involving the Nation in a war with Japan and making California an object of derision from Bangor to New Orleans. . . . Unhappily there is no power anywhere," says this newspaper, "to prorogue the Legislature, and all the 'Times' can do is to give utterance to the appeal of all good citizens of whatever politics: 'Adjourn, gentlemen, if you have any regard for the welfare of the State.'"

President Wilson's message to "the people and legislative authorities of California" is, declares the New York "Sun" (Ind.), in no sense an interference with their prerogative to make laws governing the owning and leasing of land by aliens; it is an appeal, such as may properly be made by the President at this time, not to involve the United States Government in an unnecessary and dangerous controversy about the privileges accorded to the Japanese in the treaty of 1911. "Wherever there is a law that denies the Japanese the privilege 'to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops,' or 'to lease land for residential and commercial purposes,' it is unconstitutional."

As South Carolina was the first State to secede from the Union, this Nationalistic view expressed by the Columbia "State" (Dem.) is noteworthy:

A State that is denied by the Federal Constitution the right to make war, and that has not the power to defend itself from conquest and subjugation if attacked, is assuming the right to enact legislation insulting to foreign countries and against the policy and protest of the United States Government and that might eventuate in war. And when the Governor and Legislature of California claim the right to enact such legislation on the ground that California is a sovereign State, the absence of frankness and logic is startling, because, did they not rely upon the power of the United States to defend their State from any reprisal their course might incite, such action would not be considered for a moment.

No State has the right, and no State should have the power, to assume an attitude toward another country that interferes with the foreign policy of the United States Government, or that could involve the United States in war.

"Six years ago," says the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, writing to the Baltimore "Evening Sun" (Ind. Dem.), "when the San Francisco School Board attempted to exclude Japanese children from those public schools attended by white children, the writer, then Attorney-General, instituted appropriate legal proceedings to protect the former in their rights under the treaty then in force. It became unnecessary to prosecute these suits to final decree, for some of the leading city and State officials, having come to the National Capital at the invitation of President Roosevelt, were led by the representations there made to them to advise the modification of the School Board's orders in such manner as to remove the cause of offense." Mr. Bonaparte adds:

This precedent may or may not commend itself to President Wilson; we are entitled to ask that he attain satisfactory results by whatever methods he may deem the most appropriate; but, however this may be, it would be a source of profound regret to those anxious to see our relations what these should be with the great young island Empire, now become our Western neighbor, and it might be a cause of grave danger to our country's peace and prosperity if such questions were held of negligible moment or determined by considerations of temporary partisan advantage or by quibbles as to States' rights. To thus deal with them would be, in every sense of the term, playing with fire.

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INDIAN FAMINE AND ENGLISH RULE

A REVIEW OF THE FACTS

FOR the people of India "How to control famine" is not an academic question, any more than "How to control floods" is an academic question to the citizens of stricken Dayton. In its issue of January 11 The Outlook published an article on "India's Chronic Famine," written by Basanta Koomar Roy, extension lecturer of the University of Wisconsin. He spoke, of course, for himself and not for The Outlook. The article was published as an interesting contribution to the discussion of a question of very vital importance and as a representative protest from a member of that nation most intimately concerned in the solution of this difficult problem.

THE CHARGES AGAINST ENGLAND

Briefly summarized, Professor Roy's argument was as follows: From the eleventh century to the nineteenth century England, Scotland, and Wales had one hundred and seven famines. During the nineteenth century there were only two scarcities of food. From the eleventh century to the beginning of English rule, in 1745, India had but eighteen famines. During the latter half of the eighteenth century India had seven famines. During the nineteenth century there were thirty-one famines, that destroyed over thirty-two million lives. This terrible death-list was not caused by overpopulation, Professor Roy says, because India, as a whole, ranks but ninth in density of population per square mile. It was not caused by an excessive birth-rate, for here India ranks but tenth. It was not caused by failure of rainfall, because India has the heaviest rainfall in the world. Famine, believes Professor Roy, "is a gift of the British to India. . . ." "The trouble," he says, "is that water is no longer stored as the Hindus used to store it, because . . . the British Government in India pays more attention to strategic railways and the efficiency of the army . . . than to irrigation. . . ." Famine exists because "Indian farmers are rack-rented and the last penny is squeezed out of them, even in a fat year." An "impoverishing land tax is a principal item of India's revenue. The British Government must have this revenue to keep up her expensive system of government in the poorest country in the world. . . ." Finally, India is drained of food by exportation to England. "India, even in the worst famine years, has exported grain to a value of over sixty million dollars." "It is an irony of ironies that people should starve in India while there is plenty in the land. . . . The people of India are realizing the hopeless economic derangement of their life which expresses itself in ghastly mortality from famine, plague, and malaria, and, as they are bound to elevate the economic status of their country, they are demanding more political power. . . . At any cost, chronic but 'avoidable' famines of India must be stopped."

HAVE INDIAN FAMINES INCREASED?

To these sweeping charges made by Professor Roy have come in several replies. Readers question both his conclusions and the data upon which these conclusions are based. Mr. Walter Phelps Hall, writing from New York, makes a convincing attack upon Professor Roy's description of conditions in India and upon the historical comparison which he draws between England and India.

"To some extent," he says, "Professor Roy's contentions are founded on insufficient data and to some extent illogically deduced from such facts as are given.

"As a matter of fact, as Mr. Morison assures us in his 'Economic Transition in India,' 'there is not a tittle of evidence' to support the assertion that famines are more frequent under the British régime. From the earliest recorded history of India to the present, we may trace a constant and repeated tale of drought, famine, and disaster. . . .

"It is quite possible that a greater number of famines are recorded in Great Britain before the eighteenth century than in India. Almost inevitably must this be so, inasmuch as the history of India, in complete contradistinction to that of England, can never be known save in its broadest outlines. But to infer on that account that Great Britain has suffered six times as severely as India is a *reductio ad absurdum*. On the other hand, it is logical to assume that famines have been more prevalent in India than in England, since facilities for the transportation of grain in the former country were of the poorest, but, in the latter, provided to no inconsiderable extent by the sea.

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"Let us," continues Mr. Hall, "analyze, however, Mr. Roy's statistics. His exact words are:

"In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were five famines with 1,000,000 deaths; in the second quarter, 500,000 deaths; in the third quarter, six famines with 5,000,000 deaths; and in the last quarter, eighteen famines with 26,000,000 deaths.

"What justification is there for this estimate? An immediate glance at the second quarter shows that Mr. Roy has for that period neglected to give any number of famines. Mr. Digby, however, from whom his information is obtained, says that there were two—less than one-half the number for the preceding quarter, and deaths also less by half. Here at the start is a curious admission from one who would saddle upon the British Government the responsibility of Indian famines. Throughout the nineteenth century the sphere of British influence was constantly growing, yet he who would attack that influence as the main cause of famine is forced to concede, by his own figures, that famines lessened during the very period in which that influence increased.

"But it must be conceded that our knowledge of famine conditions throughout the first half of the nineteenth century is largely guesswork. There was then no census, no bureau of vital statistics, no famine commission, indeed no direct assumption of governmental responsibility by Great Britain until after 1857. Famines undoubtedly there were, but no scientific data exist to determine their number and intensity."

ANALYZING THE FIGURES

"Turn now," continues Mr. Hall, "to Mr. Roy's figures for the last quarter of the century. Eighteen famines he ascribes to this period; the total number of deaths therefrom, twenty-six million. Of the eighteen, 'Prosperous British India,' the source of Mr. Roy's information, mentions only two that were widespread, and these were far from covering all India. The other famines, so called, were more truly local scarcities, bringing inevitably in their train distress and want. Whenever a crop failure is noted in India, it is termed in customary parlance a famine, improperly so from our connotation of the word. Famine, as defined by the Oxford Dictionary, is 'an extreme and general scarcity of food.' In this literal sense, owing to the wisely directed activity of the British Government, which shall be discussed later, famines have all but disappeared from the Indian peninsula.

"But, to be more specific, take four of Mr. Roy's eighteen famines, as described by the authority on which he relies:

"1886–7. Central Provinces. Earthworks prepared, but late autumn rains secured the ripening of the winter crops.

1890. Kumaon and Garwhal. Comparatively small help required.

1891–2. Bombay Deccan. Only slight relief granted.

1891–2. Ajumere-Merwara. Relief work of various kinds and help to weavers granted.

"Here are four cases out of the eighteen where it is evident that only local scarcity existed, and if we include two others, one in Bengal and one in the Northwest Provinces, we have two famines where, according to the writer's own statement, there were no deaths; thereby proving that either they were not famines or that an efficient Government prevented all loss of life.

"So much for the famines; now for the mortality of twenty-six millions. This estimate is derived in large measure, self-confessedly, from what the increase in population would have been had earlier census ratios been maintained. The fact that other causes than famine could have influenced this growth does not seem to have dawned upon the author of 'Prosperous British India.' Famine has not been noticeable of late in Great Britain or France, yet in both countries the rate of increase is lower. Furthermore, in India the taking of the census in earlier decades was very incomplete, and as the census became more and more thorough, huge increases took place apparently in population, but in reality in the enumeration of people hitherto uncounted. That process has stopped now, and the last census consequently did not maintain the usual ratio. But the author was blind to this fact, and whenever the official statistics of death were not sufficiently high for his purpose, they were jacked up offhand. Suppose, however, that we take these figures at their face value. Twenty-six million deaths resulting from famine in the last quarter of the century means for India less than one-half of one per cent a year—a large death rate, be it granted; but, in view of the horrible diseases and suffering which any diminishing of the standard of living in a poverty-stricken country entails, hardly as frightful as the figures would seem to imply."

Furthermore, it may be somewhat paradoxically stated that England is responsible

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for the death of these millions by famine, solely because she has protected this surplus population from being killed in war. The "Pax Britannica," the first general peace India has ever known, has brought not only quiet but population. Professor Roy has seen fit to ignore this side of the question entirely.

A REPLY FROM A SCOTCHMAN OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

From Scotland comes an answer to Professor Roy's statement that neither lack of rainfall nor excess of population is the primary cause of Indian famines. Mr. William C. Macpherson, for thirty-three years a member of the Indian Civil Service, not only contradicts Professor Roy on this part, but further attests his belief in the value of those strategic railways which Professor Roy so heartily condemns. There are two ways of solving the famine problem, he believes: increased production and improved distribution.

"The causes of the recurring famines in India," says Mr. Macpherson, "are undoubtedly to be found, since wars ceased, firstly in the precariousness of the rainfall, and secondly in the density of the population and their dependence chiefly upon agriculture.

"When Professor Basanta Koomar Roy informs us that India has the heaviest rainfall in the world and that, in the country as a whole, rain never fails, it must also be remembered that India has an area of 1¾ million square miles; that is, it is fifteen times the area of Great Britain and Ireland, or half the area of the United States of America. Rainfall at Cherrapunji in Assam and on the Western Ghats of the Bombay Presidency is of no use to Behar and the Northwest Provinces and to the parched districts of Rajputana, Sind, or the Deccan. In 1899, the last year of great famine, the rainfall of Sind was under one one-hundredth of an inch, and of Rajputana and the Punjab it was under 2½ inches.

"When, again, Professor Roy compares the density of the population of India with that of European countries, and when, finding that the total figures give 211 to the square mile for India, 405 to England and Wales, and 589 to Belgium, he argues that it is quite evident that over-population is not the real cause of famine in India, it must be answered that such a comparison is altogether misleading, unless it be also borne in mind that the distribution of the peoples compared is in no way similar. In England half of the people live in large towns; in India only 10 per cent live in large towns. Large areas lie waste in India; but there are also large districts of two to three million inhabitants with a density of 1,000 persons to the square mile, of whom 90 per cent subsist on agriculture. The whole population of India is 315 millions, and of this population three-quarters live on agriculture. There is hardly an acre of cultivated land for each person This dependence of a vast population on agriculture and the occasional failure of the periodic rains are the dominant facts to be kept in mind.

"In Britain, it has been pointed out, agriculture is only one of the six or seven great industries; in India it is beyond comparison the chief industry. If the rains do not fall in India at the right season, scarcity or failure of harvest in the unirrigated lands is inevitable, and want of employment and distress, which may deepen into famine, are also inevitable. The landless laborers, for whom there is no work in plowing, weeding, and harvesting, are the first to suffer, and their sufferings are the most severe. The critic of Indian administration rightly goes on to urge that irrigation should be extended, more canals should be made, and more water should be stored from the rainfall for distribution over the fields. This argument is entirely accepted by the Indian Government in so far as reasonable schemes are proposed involving reasonable expenditure. The ultimate test which has been applied to such schemes is *not* whether they would yield water rates sufficient to give interest on the capital expenditure, *not* even whether such rates would pay annual working expenses, but whether the schemes would afford such protection to tracts benefited, such insurance of crops, and such saving of famine expenditure as would justify the undertaking. Local conditions do not everywhere allow of irrigation, and there are large areas in Bengal and Assam, where the rainfall is abundant, which do not require irrigation, but drainage and embankment against floods."

WHAT ENGLAND HAS DONE FOR IRRIGATION

Mr. Macpherson adds: "Mr. Roy writes that 'the trouble is that water is no longer stored as the Hindus used to store it,' but he omits to mention that, with few exceptions, the existing system of large irrigation works has been entirely constructed by the British Gov-

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ernment, and that not only does it far exceed any irrigation of former rulers of India, but that there has been and is no system of irrigation in the world at all comparable to the canals of India. Under the management or supervision of the British Government, there are about 46,000 miles of canals and distributaries, giving the means of irrigation to twenty-three million acres of land. The area annually irrigated in India from canals alone (that is, apart from storage reservoirs and tanjs, ells, and other sources which water some twenty million acres more) is about five times as large as the whole of the irrigated area of Egypt. Sir John Strachey observes, 'No similar works in other countries approach in magnitude the irrigation works of India, and no public works of nobler utility have ever been undertaken in the world. No year passes without some important extension of irrigation. . . .'

"The comparative merits of irrigation works on the one hand and railways and roads on the other in developing agricultural prosperity have been much discussed; but the moderate advocate allows that all that is possible should be done under both heads. Irrigation directly increases the harvests. Railways and roads indirectly increase them.

"Up to the middle of last century there were hardly any roads in India worthy the name; and when the mutiny of the Sepoys broke out in 1857, only 120 miles of railway were open in Bengal, and about as much in Bombay and Madras. There are now 37,000 miles of metaled roads, 136,000 miles of unmetaled roads, and about 33,000 miles of railway open to traffic. If access to markets has discouraged the storage of grain, it has also increased the income of cultivators and landholders, and the deficiencies of an area of scarcity, or famine, are supplied from the surplus of more fortunate districts. Down to the end of 1909 about £360,000,000 had been spent on railways and irrigation works. The construction of such works by Government, or under Government guarantee, in India is limited by the ability of the Government to raise money by taxation or on loans."

TAXATION IN INDIA

India's system of taxation is too complicated a subject to deal with in the limited space at our disposal. From time immemorial the principle that the State should share directly in the produce of the soil has been a fundamental maxim of Indian finance. In Hindu villages the grain was thrown together in a common fund, and from this store was subtracted the share of the State. Under the Mogul Empire an army of zamindars, tax-farmers, similar to the publicans of New Testament times, was superimposed upon the former system of collection. Under Akbar the Great, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, the rate was fixed at one-fourth the gross produce, and the revenue derived from this tax was, in purchasing value, more than double that which the Anglo-Indians receive from the same territory. The British Government has built up a compromise system of tax collection, recognizing in some districts the rights of the hereditary zamindar, now a landlord, and in others the vested interest of the ryot, or peasant proprietor. The whole tendency has been towards the foundation of a tax code that will on the one hand control the rack-renting propensity of the zamindar, protect the leasehold of the ryot, and at the same time effect a just apportionment of taxation.

It hardly need be said that none of this revenue is sent as "tribute money" to England. India's Government is self-supporting and nothing more. England has far more reason to complain of the drain upon her resources, made by the constant demands of the Indian civil and military service for the best and most promising of her youth, than India has to complain of the exactions of the Imperial Government. Contrary to Professor Roy's inference, the Indian civil service is not a refuge for younger sons and incompetent aliens in search of large salaries and little work. It can be entered only after a severe competitive examination. It is maintained only at a very real sacrifice of health and wealth. The reward which it offers to ambitious Englishmen is chiefly the satisfaction that comes from hard work well done.

AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY ON TAXATION

From an American missionary in Allur, Nellore District, South India, we have received an interesting letter giving us an illustration of how this English tax system works out in actual practice. The Rev. W. S. Davis writes:

"I came to this country when I was about thirty years of age. I have been here for a little more than twenty years. I have passed through one famine. During that time I had on relief work upwards of one thousand people.

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I passed in and out among them day after day for several weeks. I know something of what it means to the people when famine conditions exist. I know what it means when these people take their daily wage and go to the market for grain, and it is refused them, not because there is no grain, but because the merchant is holding it for a higher price. And I know something of the causes which produce famine conditions.

"Mr. Roy says: 'The trouble is that, the taxes imposed by the British Government being fifty per cent of the produce, the Indian starves that England's annual revenue may not be reduced by a dollar.' Now, what are the facts? Dry land is taxed at the rate of from one to two rupees per acre. Irrigated land is taxed at from five to seven and one-half rupees per acre. Land under well irrigation taxed at two rupees per acre will yield produce worth from fifty to one hundred rupees per acre. There is a piece of irrigated land very near to where I am living. That land is worth three hundred and fifty rupees per acre. It pays a tax of about seven and a half rupees. At the above price the land produces rice which pays ten per cent on the capital invested. I know these things because I own the land, grow the crops, and pay the taxes. That does not look as though the Government was collecting in taxes fifty per cent of the produce."

IS INDIA DRAINED OF FOOD?

As to Professor Roy's contention that India is drained of food for exportation to England, Mr. Davis has this to say:

"Before England came here, India knew nothing of the outside world. She was virtually isolated from the rest of the world by a system which forbade her people to cross the seas. She had no railways, and had to depend on the ox-cart and the country roads for transportation. Because England came, India to-day studies the stock markets of London and New York and knows the price of foodstuffs throughout the world.

"Who is to blame for sending that grain out of India when her starving children needed it? Was it the Government that gave the railway lines and steamship service? or was it the self-interest of the farmer and merchant, who were willing that all India should starve if they could make a dollar?

"England more and more is placing in positions of trust the natives of the country. In the case of a shortage in this part of India, 1905, these men were in charge of the large reservoir. Because of negligence on their part, the necessary repairs on the works were not completed. The first river flood that came down could not be turned into the reservoir. The water was lost, and no more came for another nine months. There was grain, but no money to purchase, no credit, and no knowledge of that which drove famine out of England, Scotland, and Wales, and which prompted America to send, free of cost, to starving India, its own foodstuffs. The grain which should stay in India to feed some of India's starving millions is shipped to other countries for the benefit, not of an alien race, but of a few of India's sons.

"There are five and a half millions of able-bodied men, with their dependents, who live on the people as beggars because the caste system prevents them from working.

"Before this condition in India can become materially better, her sons must learn a little about that wisdom which compels a man to acknowledge that he is 'his brother's keeper,' be he of caste or out-caste extraction."

HOW ENGLAND IS TRYING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS

Mr. Hall, already quoted, has something to say concerning the all-important question of taxation; a description to offer of the methods by which the English are seeking to solve the famine problem, and a very emphatic word of praise for what they have already accomplished. We will let him close the debate.

"In the budget of 1909–10, to discuss the latest one upon which information is ample, the total net revenue of British India raised from taxation was somewhat under $246,000,000, or a per capita assessment of eighty-five cents, the lowest per capita of any civilized country on the habitable globe. This revenue is derived from taxes upon imports, salt, legal transfers, incomes, and a general tax on land. The last of these is particularly singled out for opprobrium, its amount and incidence exaggerated and misunderstood. Less than half of India's revenue is derived from this tax, and under its operation less than forty cents per capita is taken from the peasantry in the course of a year. Never does it take, as has been alleged, half of the products of the soil. In certain specific sections, it is true, the tax takes as high as fifty per cent of the rent—quite a different story. But even this is decidedly an exception, and

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takes place only in a special kind of zamindari tenure, the technical operation of which is beyond the province of this discussion. On the average, the tax on rent runs from ten to sixteen per cent.

"This tax must be, in certain cases, a heavy burden upon the cultivator; but, lest any one believe it a famine-breeder, let him compare the finances of British India with those of the autonomous native States. Mysore, for instance, with a population of five million, takes over six shillings per capita in taxation, or nearly twice the rate of British India. Hyderabad, with eleven million inhabitants, raises a revenue of over five shillings per capita; while Baroda, to pay for the extravagant living of her overlord, draws from its population of nearly two million inhabitants over ten shillings per head, or three times the rate paid by British subjects. If the inhabitants of British India are taxed to death, one might well wonder how any are living in the native States!

"The British Administration regards no duty as more pressing than the amelioration of harvest scarcity. First of all it has given India cheap transportation, an inestimable boon, since, as Mr. Morison points out in his 'Indian Industrial Organization,' 'the fundamental difference between famines at the end of the nineteenth century was this: At the beginning of the century the price of food rose so high as to be absolutely beyond the reach of the majority of the inhabitants, and even at these exorbitant rates it was not often to be had. . . . At the end of the century there was plenty of food (owing to the railroads) even in districts in which crops had failed altogether.' Efficient railroad service has been the Government's first care; the second, irrigation."

WHAT HAPPENS IN FAMINE TIME

"Nor," adds Mr. Hall, "does Governmental activity stop here. To provide for unforeseen famine contingencies a fund of $5,000,000 is set aside yearly. Constant watch is kept over every rural district. The coming of the rain in spring and fall, its density and duration, is noted and reported. Local police scrutinize closely the movement of the population, always speedily accelerated by approaching scarcity. Inspectors keep track of the cattle, their number, food, and condition, and the crops also are the subject of study.

"By all of these means famine may be anticipated and the Government prepared for its forthcoming. If it does come, the steps taken are these: The land tax is remitted, the importation of rice encouraged by bounties, and the exportation of food forbidden. Provisions are then shipped in by the State railroads and relief camps established, that none may starve. A famine commissioner is appointed, under whose direction the war against poverty and disease is carried on with vigor. Public highways are mended, new ones are built, railroads are constructed, irrigating ditches dug, and work offered to all. The death rate, of course, does advance. Many natives wander away to die in other provinces. Others sell, gamble, or are robbed of blankets, stores, and supplies meted out by governmental authorities, and the officials are not always as efficient as they might be, since those who are native born are frequently indifferent to the suffering of poor ryots of a caste alien to their own. Yet, despite these drawbacks, it may be said that famines are at last fairly well under control, as, for instance, the one in the United Provinces in 1907, where the death rate rose only from 32 per thousand to 36, or the one the year after in the district of Darbhanga, where the usual high mortality from malaria was so reduced by the drought that the death rate actually dropped in a famine year. . . .

"A century ago, and throughout all India, thuggery, the slaughter of girl babies, and the suttee were unchecked. These Great Britain ended, brought order out of chaos, built railroads, dug canals, preserved forests, administered justice, protected factory children by laws superior to many an American commonwealth, 'educated the Hindu to a sense of his wrongs, and gave him liberty to proclaim them.'

"So much at least," concludes Mr. Hall, "has been accomplished, and though mistakes have been made in the process and injustices perhaps have been done, the poor peasant, at any rate, has been rescued from the domineering grasp of his feudal overlord; and for his maintenance in times of poverty and starvation Great Britain has provided a more thorough and scientific system of relief than exists in any other country in the world. Well might Lord Curzon say in a farewell address to India, 'The peasant is the bone and sinew of the country; by sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; from his labor comes forth the national income. He should be the first and final object of every viceroy's regard.'"

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THE GREAT RAIN

BY ARTHUR RUHL

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

AS we skidded and splashed behind the automobiles carrying the Governor's party up the country roads from Hamilton to Dayton—train and trolley tracks were out—we had a vivid illustration of what even a mild rain may become on saturated ground. There had been a shower all morning, and it had continued through the afternoon—a steady but not violent rain. Yet by the time we started back through the early darkness the ditches were tumbling full, some of the road bridges overflowed, and every time the lightning lit up the countryside one could see white streaks of foam on every slope where little cataracts were racing down to the nearest river.

It was "just rain" that caused the Ohio floods. No large reservoir was broken, in spite of the wild whispers that flung people to the hills in Dayton, Columbus, Piqua, and elsewhere; there was not even a terrific storm. Only the steady drip-drip-drip of rain over thousands of square miles of close-cropped pasture land, empty cornfields, and green stretches of winter wheat, until little silver veins were frisking down every crease, every ditch carried its brown torrent, and the Muskingum could come down to Zanesville, for instance, with a fifty-one-foot flood that nothing could stop.

Only "just rain"—plus river channels narrowed and blocked by dumps and embankments, low bridges to dam the water back, and innumerable horseshoe bends, across which, in the spring freshets, the crowded streams used to spread out and ease themselves in the days before men covered them with mills and houses. With natural channels confined and the land already saturated, even a moderate rain becomes astounding. Five years ago a rain of but one inch a day for three days over the Miami watershed raised the river at Dayton above flood stage. The 1913 rain, over the same country, was about three times as heavy. All over southern Ohio men who thought they knew the river on which they lived have been asking each other, "But where could all this water come from?"

As the county rainfall figures came trickling into Columbus—and they were two weeks in coming, over mended bridges and patched wires—the mystery cleared.

There was a downpour for days over the entire State, and the rain was heaviest precisely where it would be felt the most. The watershed of Ohio follows a general east and west line across the upper part of the State at about the latitude of Lima. From this roof the short Sandusky and Maumee flow northward into Lake Erie; while the Miami, on the west, which flooded Dayton; the Scioto, in the center, which flows through Columbus; and the Muskingum, which runs down the southeastern part of the State through Zanesville, all flow southward to the Ohio.

A two-inch rainfall is considered heavy in our part of the world. In Logan County, at the top of the watershed, about forty miles north of Dayton, 11.16 inches fell between and including Sunday and Thursday of flood week. In Marion and Wyandot Counties, eastward along the same line, 10.41 and 10.61 inches fell. In Richland and Wayne, at the head waters of the Muskingum, there was a fall of 10.56 and 10.15 inches. Along the whole high line the downpour was similar.

Rains like these, collected from 2,436 square miles of smoothly cultivated country, came rolling down to Dayton, and the water from a thousand more was gathered in before the flood tore out bridges and whole blocks of houses at Hamilton, lower down. There are 1,512 square miles of Scioto watershed above Columbus, and 6,474 of the Muskingum above Zanesville. The mass of water that piles up under such conditions is beyond all belief. In the summer dog-days the Scioto sometimes discharges as little as one one-hundredth of a cubic foot per second for each square mile of its watershed. In such a flood as that of March 25 it discharged a hundred or more cubic feet per second—ten thousand times as much!

Zanesville, which is built on the sides of a

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gorge into which the Muskingum and Licking, meeting in the center of the town, pour their waters as into a funnel, showed more vividly than any of the other thirty flooded towns the force of the water. The river rose here 51.8 feet above its low-water stage—twenty-two feet higher than it rose at Dayton and fifteen feet higher than it had ever risen before.

It had partially subsided when I came in on one of the first trains, over a week after the flood, but one could still see the mud-line on buildings along the river at the equivalent of about the fourth story. It tore out the three-foot masonry rim of the levee and piled the great stones about like children's blocks, flung four bridges down stream, and bent heavy steel girders like so much red-hot wire. The city, a picturesque place of about thirty thousand people, known especially for its huge tile works, is built in three parts, two on the sides of the gorge proper, and the third on the triangle of land between the two rivers. It was over this triangle, naturally, that the river poured as if there were nothing to stop it, and showed its wildest work.

Houses and barns were strewn about and tipped on end, sheds lifted to the roofs of houses still standing, and benches, barrels and furniture left high and dry in the crotches of trees. The Y-shaped bridge which stretches out from this triangle to the other two sides of the town, just reversing the Y the rivers make, was built of reinforced concrete, which all through the flooded country showed wonderful resisting strength. This bridge was completely covered by the water, but it stood, nevertheless, although its solid balustrade was bitten off most of the way across. The most astonishing thing about the Zanesville flood was that only two lives were lost—a good fortune due, no doubt, partly to the fact that people living in such a gorge naturally have more respect for high water than those in such a level neighborhood as Dayton; then flood warnings were sent out in time, there was high land easily accessible, and remarkable rescue work by boat. The area damaged was small, of course, compared with Dayton, yet, as it was, 400 houses were destroyed, 1,815 damaged, and about ten millions of damage done.

Hamilton, about thirty miles down the Miami from Dayton, another of the mellow-looking old manufacturing towns, also felt the flood's full force. All its bridges were swept away, and block after block of houses gouged out, so that even foundations sometimes had disappeared. The river was more violent here than at Dayton, and the loss of life, seventy-two, about the same, but the business part of the town was not greatly hurt. Most of the damage was done to workingmen's houses and factories. Over twelve thousand people here, according to the Red Cross figures, will need outside help to get on their feet again.

Down these torrents came, then, and at every city met foolish barriers inadvertently set up to increase their height. The unnatural course of the river at Dayton was spoken of in my previous article. There is a similar bend at Columbus, and the Scioto simply broke through the levee, poured across in a straight line, and swept away the light frame houses that lay in its path. The main part of Columbus was not touched, but the lowland in the bend of the river—a region of small shops, humble frame dwellings, and factories—was overflowed and several of the bridges leading to it carried out. The loss of life here was probably greater than anywhere else—eighty-six at last accounts—and twenty thousand people are said to need outside help to re-establish their homes.

Of the several flooded cities I visited, Piqua—known as "Pickway," generally, by its loyal sons—seemed about as plain an illustration as any of what a river channel ought not to be. Piqua is another of those solid little Ohio manufacturing cities, about thirty miles up the Miami from Dayton. Approaching from the north, the river flows first at the town, then withdraws along its eastern edge, makes a short detour below the city, doubles on its track in a horseshoe curve which re-enters the town, and in the heart of it turns off almost at right angles again. A high railway bank walls in the lower side of this horseshoe, and the apex of the right angle is the happy site chosen by the railway for a heavy iron bridge.

When the flood came, it naturally poured over the lowlands within the horseshoe, and, piling up in the funnel made by the converging lines of the railway embankment and the higher land on which the business part of the city is built, tore out the bridge. In the meantime fifty lives, mostly those of families living in the frame houses on the flats, had been snuffed out. When we reached Piqua, on the Thursday after the flood, nearly every house still standing on the lowland horseshoe either had a gaping hole or a little patch of

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new shingles on its roof—marking the place where people driven to their attics by the water had at last been forced to knock a hole aad crawl through.

"We could hear 'em yelling down there in the dark," said the man who joined me, as we tramped through the mud, "and shooting off guns, and the water and houses floating off and smashing up—it was the damnedest noise you ever heard in your life. Believe me, that was some night!"

The low horseshoe covered with flimsy frame houses, the river absurdly jammed in between the railway embankment and the town and capped by a bridge—this is typical of what one finds in these river towns. Many have a canal, too, no longer used for its original purpose, but serving as a flume for water power, perhaps—indifferently kept up and protected, and offering, as it did at Dayton, a path straight into the heart of the town. No practicable man-made devices, probably, could completely have controlled such a flood as this, but it was clumsy and preventable topography which assisted in desolating thirty towns, as if so many hostile armies had thrown up intrenchments in their suburbs and bombarded them for a week, and cutting off four hundred and fifty lives.

They were talking, while we were in Piqua, of condemning the low land and bringing the river straight across the horseshoe to the point where it passes now under the railway bridge. Similar suggestions have been made for the Scioto at Columbus. The building of dwellings on land subject to flood might be prohibited, and the space used for gardens, playgrounds, or parks; and there are Utopian schemes for river bank boulevards which could be used nine years out of ten, perhaps, the year round, and serve, after such a rain as this, as an extension, not easily harmed, of the river's natural channel.

The practicability of such schemes depends, of course, on local conditions—turning rivers into new beds is no child's play, and land apparently level may have differences of elevation and an amount of rock that would make canal-digging difficult and expensive. These are questions for engineers to work out, but the great rain of 1913 has at least set the people of Ohio to thinking of them.

Of the desirability of reforestation there is scarcely need to speak, although it may be news to some that not a few learned students of the ways of water dispute the popular belief that clearing away of the forests has increased floods. The director of the United States Weather Bureau at Columbus, Professor J. Warren Smith, for instance, I found to be one of these; and Professor Smith has studied the relation between precipitation and stream-flow along the Ohio's watershed and written a pamphlet about it. The argument is that a forest holds rain as a piece of blotting-paper placed on an inclined board holds water—to its point of saturation; that only an abnormal rain can produce a serious flood, and that the difference in the amount of an abnormal rain which can be held by cleared and forest-covered land is not important. The benefits of reforestation, apart from the specific business of flood prevention, are so obvious, however, that arguments against it would seem to have scarcely more than academic interest.

Storage reservoirs in the head-waters to supply power, to regulate navigation in the dry season, and to catch the spring rains, are enthusiastically urged and opposed. They were advocated after a lengthy investigation by the Pittsburgh Flood Commission; Chief Hydrographer Leighton, of the United States Geological Survey, has pleaded vigorously for them, and Mr. H. E. Talbott, an engineer of wide experience at the head of the reconstruction work in Dayton I found to be another advocate. The Government engineers, on the contrary, are likely to oppose storage reservoirs, and with almost more than warmth.

The objections are the cost of the land, the danger of dams breaking, the difficulty of using a reservoir for power and yet keeping it empty enough to be useful for catching heavy rains. Those who favor reservoirs deny that the cost is prohibitive in comparison with the staggering losses from floods, or that reservoirs cannot be made as safe. They think that a minimum supply could be maintained for power purposes with large possible expansion for times of flood, and in any case the reservoir would not be expected to hold all the rain. All they wish is to hold back enough of it to keep down the dangerous crest of floods.

Professor Charles E. Sherman, head of the Engineering Department of Ohio University, I found an especially interesting advocate of storage reservoirs, both because of his knowledge of the subject and his willingness to look at both sides of the argument. Because the reservoir system is insufficient to

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prevent floods on the lower Mississippi is no proof, in his opinion, that it may not be advantageously used in favorable situations on smaller streams.

Such, for instance, may be the watershed of the Scioto above Columbus, which contains only about fifteen hundred square miles. Thus, a one-inch rain on 500 square miles of watershed could be contained in a reservoir forty square miles in area and twelve inches deep. Six inches of rain would fill the same reservoir six feet deep. If the watershed area were one thousand square miles, the water would be twelve feet deep, and if it were made twenty-four feet deep the reservoir would need to have an area of only twenty square miles. A reservoir of that size is by no means impracticable, and with it the floods of the Scioto could be controlled.

The Muskingum, with its 6,000 square miles above Zanesville, offers a harder task, but even here it must be borne in mind that the purpose is not to store all the water, but only to hold back the last straw which breaks the bridge's and the levee's back. The frequently quoted statement of opponents of storage reservoirs that it would have taken a reservoir as big as the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio to hold the water that flowed past Cairo during flood time last year is misleading. No one proposes to hold it back. That is what the river channels were made for. All that is suggested is that enough be held back to clip the crest of the flood.

A cold rain was falling when we reached Hamilton that afternoon, and a more desolate sight it would be hard to imagine. All the bridges were gone; the one leading across from the main street, with its heavy masonry abutments, had been torn out, lock, stock, and barrel, and a rowboat ferry was poking over through the rain. One whole street with its houses, near the water's edge, had disappeared. Acres of other houses had been gouged away down to the gravel. The river was still brimming, the whole country soaked, and to the prospect of re-entering houses dripping and plastered with mud was added the dismal thought that the river might rise again. On a corner of the main street, however, dripping in the downpour, hung a large cloth sign with a verse borrowed from a newspaper poet much esteemed in these parts:

"We've had our time of flood and gloom,
We've neared the awful gates of doom,
And some have entered in.
But now the sun of hope peers out,
Old trouble we can put to rout;
So grin, gosh dern it, grin!"

And they *were* smiling in Hamilton that afternoon, and everywhere in the flooded district one finds the same stout spirit. A great deal has been written about the horrors and gloom of this disaster, and more might be written. The hardest trial comes after the excitement is over and the long, slow fight back to normal begins—going back to damp and filthy houses with new furniture and clothes to buy and nothing to buy with; to small shopkeepers, whose stores and stocks have been destroyed, leaving them still owing the money they had borrowed on their stock; to drivers of delivery wagons, small clerks, and the like, who had put the savings of years into a house and bought furniture and a piano—all that vast army which, in the best of times, is only a few weeks or months from poverty.

And yet southern Ohio, at this moment, is in anything but a state of gloom. Already civic pride is convincing nearly every man one meets that *his* flood was bigger and worse than others, and he is ready to maintain that against all comers. The great rain will never be forgotten, and those who went through it are in somewhat the happy case of those who have been through a war. There was no lack, even during the thick of it, of things to smile over—the antics of usually solemn citizens panic-struck at the whisper that a dam had broken; the authentic adventures—rather more in the vein of de Maupassant, perhaps, than of Mr. Howells—of pillars of society overtaken by the flood in regions they were not supposed to frequent, and marooned there with the queerest company for days.

Thousands of humdrum lives have been enriched with a thrill they will never forget. There was Arline Barnell, for instance, the long-distance night telephone operator at Zanesville. She was sitting at her switchboard in the quiet exchange, with the local wires down, the river booming over the "Y" bridge and spreading up Main Street a block away, when there came a faint call from the East. It was from the "Sun" office in New York, and they wanted to know what had happened to Zanesville. All telegraph wires were down. Arline told what she could, the story was quickly strung out to several columns and put on the wire, and the next morning Arline Barnell, of Zanesville, Ohio, was "spe-

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cial correspondent" of all the papers taking the "Sun's" service. She was that for two nights, while the torrent divided the town, talking directly into the New York office; and that was an adventure which even a night telephone operator doesn't have every day.

There was Bell, plant chief at Dayton, whose office was surrounded by water. He couldn't get out; all local wires were down, but there was long-distance connection, and, by some magic hocus-pocus which plant chiefs know, he felt round the State until he had hooked up a connection with Columbus. The Governor was in the State House, sitting at his desk with a candle, the only light to be had. The Governor comes from Dayton, and for two days and nights he kept the wire open, while Bell, in his office island, reported what was happening, and the Governor sent word to the outside world.

There was poor young Ridgeley, of Dayton—one of dozens like him—who saved seventeen families, and then, his boat hit by wreckage, went down. "It was too bad for Ridg," said the fireman whose engine-house had been turned into a temporary morgue. "He worked hard. He was a damned nice kid, Ridg was." There was Vernon Patterson at Zanesville—a "snake-hunter," as they call the boatmen from Buckeye Lake, a little to the west of the town—who went out into a current into which it seemed no boat could live, and took people off of roofs and wreckage before they hit the "Y" bridge. He left his name and address with the people on shore because it seemed likely he would never come back, but he did come back, nevertheless, and they have his name and address in Zanesville now for evermore.

Those who go through such an experience are friends, and work together, for a time at least, as people shipwrecked on a desert island raise a shelter for the night. The same torrent that smashes houses sweeps away all the piffling jealousies, the acrid vulgarities, of a crowded city's life. Every train creeping in over newly made trestles brings help from new friends. Stockbrokers, hundreds of miles away, smoking fat cigars as they drive down town in their limousines, send their thousands, and some little town in Florida, that nobody ever heard of, wires to ask what it may do. It is a strange air people breathe for a time, which one curiously misses on returning to "civilization" and the constant vaudeville of city streets.

You overhear everywhere such dialogues as this shouted out one afternoon in the Riverdale section of Dayton, as I passed, from opposite sides of the street.

"I told my wife I never had so many friends before in my life."

"That's right. We're all friends now. We gotta stick together."

"Sure—stick together. There ain't no use getting discouraged."

"Sure not. There ain't nothing to that. We'll come out all right."

A little further along, in the same neighborhood, a young couple, in front of a house freshly scrubbed of mud, were washing with a hose the caked silt from their little strip of grass. The wife wore a pair of her husband's trousers and rubber boots. They had lost their furniture, and practically every other house in the neighborhood, being rented, had been deserted. I ventured the somewhat jocular suggestion that there were times when it was better not to own your own house.

"I don't think so," said the young woman, promptly. "I'd rather have a stake of my own and something to lose. We own our house. My husband can always get more furniture—and we'll be good as new."

"Sure we will," grunted the young husband, without looking up from his hydraulic mining operations on the mud-caked grass.

People like this, in a State as rich and resourceful as Ohio, will not be long in getting on their feet. Recovering from the flood is only part of the task, however. These highly civilized and nervous rivers must be civilized still further, bitted and broken, until such a disaster cannot happen again.

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THE NEW BOOKS

FOUR ENGLISH NOVELS

TO a person who reads in the same week Sir Gilbert Parker's "The Judgment House" (Harpers) and Mrs. Humphry Ward's "The Mating of Lydia" (Doubleday, Page & Co.), one point of difference instantly suggests itself: the first is big in subject and purpose, but uneven and at times also positively prolix in the writing; the second is far less ambitious than much of Mrs. Ward's fiction, but it is done with constant ease and charm.

The complexity of some of the characters in "The Judgment House" (and especially of the heroine), and the struggles of some of the men and women of the story to "realize" themselves (a favorite phrase of the author) to the reader's understanding, contrast with the perfect simplicity and singleness of the few and clear-cut characters in "The Mating of Lydia." Both are notable novels of the season, and neither of them is a book that readers of fiction can afford to ignore.

England in the shadow of the Boer War is the theme of "The Judgment House." We see a crisis for British world-influence and imperial power, and its reactions on society, financial undertakings, and individual character. National and international aspects are presented; historical and diplomatic backgrounds are sketched with fullness of knowledge and a broad sweep of dramatic writing. Byng, a forceful, big-hearted, but coarse-grained capitalist with a fortune at stake in Oom Paul's land, is strongly depicted; and even more so is his half-Boer, half-Hottentot servant Krool, who is at once a Boer spy and the devoted slave of his English master, so that he takes as his just due the half-killing with a sjambok (native whip) which follows the discovery by his master of his perfidy. Krool is perhaps the most vivid, certainly the most striking, person of the plot. The later scenes of the book are laid in South Africa and have fine descriptive quality, bringing close to our apprehension the atmosphere of the veldt and the tragedy and revolting nature of war. This part of the romance, and equally so the earliest chapters, in which news of the Jameson raid is made the center of interest about which men and motives are made to group themselves, are admirably wrought out and show the author at his very best. Not so successful, it seems to us, is the elaborate working out of the temperament of Jasmine, Byng's wife; it is here that the author aims at subtlety and depth, but he does not succeed in reconciling the woman's conduct with her own nature as she reveals it—she seems neither perverted nor weak enough to be guilty of the combination of folly and dishonor into which she so easily slips.

Mrs. Ward's theme in "The Mating of Lydia" is the personal view-point of wealth. As she, or rather her Cyril Boden, says: "How you get it, how you use it, whether you dominate it or it dominates you; whether it is the greater curse or the greater blessing to men: it was the question in Christ's day; it's the question now. But it has never been put with such intensity as to this generation!" So we have Melrose, the selfish eccentric, whose soul is ruined by wealth; Faversham, the young man whose honest desire to do good things with money in the future makes him bow temporarily to Melrose's tyranny and fail to stand against his cruelty; Tatham, indifferent to wealth because he has always had it; Lydia, indifferent to wealth because she has never had it and even over-despises its power—and so on, with a constant under-play around the topic of the evil and good, the power and possibilities, of wealth. All this may sound ultra-economic, but in fact the book is essentially romantic. Above all, it is agreeable and cheerful; as always, it is a pleasure to follow Mrs. Ward's lucid prose and listen to the talk of her well-bred people. There is a melodramatic side to the plot, to be sure, but it is not salient enough to disturb the anti-sensationalist. In Melrose, the shrewd, brilliant, hateful collector of antiques, who values his treasures more than wife and child, Mrs. Ward has given us a distinct reality, not the less actual and believable because he is so far out of common experience. The picture of English country life is pleasing; the current of narrative runs smoothly; the book ends a trifle conventionally but agreeably.

Mr. J. C. Snaith's "An Affair of State" (Doubleday, Page & Co.) is, in point of reserved power, the best novel he has written. When his "Broke of Covenden" appeared several years ago, it gave the impression of tumultuous genius, ability of a high order, but lack of restraint and literary judgment; on the other hand, his "Araminta" was a joyous piece of humor, immensely amusing, but

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without attempt at dealing strongly with large ideas. Other of his books have given the impression of an author who had not yet fully "found himself." But "An Affair of State" deserves to rank with the best fiction-production of the decade; it is balanced, ripe in judgment, and dramatic in the sense opposed to theatrical. A political crisis in an imagined near future furnishes the topic, but at bottom the story is not of political methods nearly as much as of a conflict of character and purpose between two public men—a leader toward the promise of the future and a reactionary nobleman of the old school. The human interest element soon comes to the front, and once developed is clear and passionate.

Mr. Laurence Housman combines light comedy and political satire in "King John of Jingalo" (Holt). The struggles of King John to find out what rights, if any, he has as a constitutional monarch have their evident bearings on present-day British politics, and there are many clever side hits at certain inconsistencies and conventions which excite the author's derision. Both the King and his too independent daughter land in the police station, but escape from their misadventures with untarnished dignity. The book is an admirable piece of fooling, and it has a positive story-telling ability that holds the reader much more closely than might be expected from the theme. Social welfare, the cause of the suffragettes, and the nullification of royalty by ministries, are among the subjects taken up by King John; but his temerity turns out to be the result of temporary abnormal excitement caused by a blow—no really sane King, it is intimated, would ever dream of doing anything independently!

Concert Pitch. By Frank Danby. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.35.

The lady who writes under the name of Frank Danby has the knack of creating interesting human beings and telling interesting stories about their experiences of the heart. In the present tale the interest is of the same kind as in "The Heart of a Child" and "Pigs in Clover," but—the temptation to turn the phrase is too strong to be resisted—here it is not quite up to concert pitch.

Maxwell Mystery (The). By Carolyn Wells. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.

Miss Carolyn Wells as humorist and writer of *vers de société* and as author of a detective story are two quite different people. It is unfortunate that in going from one field to the other she left her sense of humor behind her.

Nest (The). By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. The Century Company, New York. $1.25.

A volume of short stories by the author of "Tante," "Franklin Winslow Kane," and "A Fountain Sealed." Miss Sedgwick's treatment of not very profound human problems is as far removed as possible from the impressionistic. Not a detail is missing from her pictures. Their creation may have involved exercise of the imagination; their reading does not.

John O' Jamestown. By Vaughan Kester. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Ind. $1.35.

This is an early novel by the author of "The Prodigal Judge." It seems to us well worth reprinting, although it is entirely different in its subject and treatment from Mr. Kester's later work. It is, as the title indicates, essentially the story of John Smith. The narrative is put in the mouth of a young Englishman who was beaten senseless and put on board one of the ships going to Virginia by private enemies. The narrative is told in a simple and direct way, and the history of the early struggles and dissensions in Virginia is made thoroughly readable. John Smith himself stands out as a fine, heroic, and human figure. It is the fashion to pass by historical novels as a little out of the present-day taste for fiction; but where a romance is in itself as strong and clear as this, the imaginary objection disappears at once. The book is not a large piece of literary work; but it is well written, well knit together, and deserves recognition as a sound and true example of its class.

Inferno (The). By August Strindberg. Translated by Claud Field. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Of pathological rather than literary interest is this expanded extract from Strindberg's diary. His insane suspicions, his morbid superstitions, detailed with pitiful minuteness and pitiable egotism, furnish neither a fit subject for art nor a fair picture of life. Strindberg's mind, exposed like the flayed body of Marsyas to public view, is not a pleasant nor a profitable thing to gaze upon.

Mere Literature. By Woodrow Wilson. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $5.

Three essays, written by Woodrow Wilson in other days, have been put together by the publishers in a volume of which to say that it is one of the Riverside Press Editions is to say that it is an example of the finest book-making, a delight to the heart of the lover of books as "things in themselves." The essays are "mere literature," dealing in a genial, penetrating, thought-provoking way with conditions in the Republic of Letters. We cannot forbear to give two selections from the essay "On an Author's Choice of Company." They give too good a taste of the author's quality. He is writing of the Republic of Letters:

> But there is a better phrase, namely, the Community of Letters; for that means intercourse and comradeship and

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a life in common. Some take up their abode in it as if they had made no search for a place to dwell in, but had come into the freedom of it by blood and birthright. Others buy the freedom with a great price, and seek out all the sights and privileges of the place with an eager thoroughness and curiosity. Still others win their way in with a certain grace and aptitude, next best to the ease and dignity of being born to the right. But for all it is a bonny place to be. Its comradeships are a liberal education. Some, indeed, even there, live apart; but most run always in the market-place to know what all the rest have said. Some keep special company, while others keep none at all. But all feel the atmosphere and life of the place in their several degrees.

Again, he asks, "What is it . . . that renders a bit of writing a 'piece of literature'?"

It is reality. A "wood-note wild," sung unpremeditated and out of the heart; a description written as if with an undimmed and seeing eye upon the very object described; an exposition that lays bare the very soul of the matter; a motive truly revealed; anger that is righteous and justly spoken; mirth that has its sources pure; phrases to find the heart of a thing, and a heart seen in things for the phrases to find; an unaffected meaning set out in language that is its own,—such are the realities of literature. Nothing else is of the kin. Phrases used for their own sake; borrowed meanings which the borrower does not truly care for; an affected manner; an acquired style; a hollow reason; words that are not fit; things which do not live when spoken,—these are its falsities, which die in the handling.

Within the narrow confines of this volume is something for every one to whom the Community of Letters is of interest, either from without or from within. To the mere observer thereof it will give pleasure; to the dweller therein, stimulation; to the aspirant thereto, inspiration.

Letters to Unknown Friends. By Lyman Abbott. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 60c.

A year ago or more Dr. Abbott began in The Outlook a series of "Letters to Unknown Friends." This volume, which has been put into extremely tasteful book form by its publishers, contains many, but not all, of those articles, and it also contains letters and replies which have not appeared in The Outlook. In his preface Dr. Abbott states that the correspondence with these friends, whose names often are not known to him, have been of valuable service in enabling him to understand and deal with vital experiences, and have helped to make clear his own conceptions of theological, spiritual, and ethical problems. The number of letters of this kind received, and the conferences and correspondence that have followed their publication, are sufficient evidence of the interest felt in them generally.

Plays. By John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Of the last of the three plays in this volume, "The Eldest Son," "The Little Dream," and "Justice," The Outlook has already spoken at length. The others are equally worthy of serious attention. "The Eldest Son" is as powerful an attack upon false standards of class chivalry and upon conventional "morality" as will be met with on a Sabbath Day's journey. "The Little Dream," an allegorical presentation of the eternal warfare between town and country, might have sprung from the pen and the heart of Peter Rosegger himself. It is poetic without any suggestion of sentimentality, fanciful without losing touch with reality. In the treatment of social problems Galsworthy is idealist and realist at one and the same time. His plays, in contrast to Hauptmann's "Before Dawn" and Strindberg's "Dance of Death," are written with the touch and spirit of a great surgeon rather than the gesture of a man flinging an addled egg against a stone wall.

Food and Flavor. By Henry T. Finck. The Century Company, New York. $2.

Mr. Finck is a musical critic, a student of psychology (as was shown in his "Romantic Love and Personal Beauty"), and that he is a gastronomist this new book amply proves. It is a singular, and it must be confessed singularly readable, compound of information, discussion, and suggestion, the fruit of long absorption of the scientific and the literary aspects of food—its choice, its uses, the "noble art" of cooking, national and racial tastes, the "commercial value of flavor," the "gastronomic value of odors," and much else. It would be quite right to describe the book as learned, informative, and amusing. It is not a work of direct reformatory purpose, but it has many hints and bits of fact that ought to aid the search for pure food and healthful cooking.

The Children in the Shadow. By Ernest K. Coulter. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $1.50.

Mr. Coulter was for almost ten years Clerk of the Children's Court in New York, before which tribunal during his time of service passed an army of one hundred thousand delinquent children. He is also the father of the Big Brother movement. Such experience, and such an inspiration, entitle him to speak with authority. It may be added that he not only speaks with authority but that he speaks well. His book is one that tempts the reviewer to constant quotation; it is one of the best discussions of this difficult subject that has come to our attention. As may be surmised, Mr. Coulter is not satisfied with merely painting a picture of "the Children in the Shadow;" he has very definite ideas as to why they live in darkness and what is the best method of letting in the light. He may be described as a militant optimist.

Enjoyment of Poetry. By Max Eastman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Professor Eastman has chosen an inviting title for his volume, and the invitation is decidedly worth accepting. In the distinction which he draws between the poetic and the practical, in his treatment of the principles of rhythmical English, and in his discussion of the "Practical Value of Poetry"—to mention the subject of but three chapters—his efforts to arouse interest and

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stimulate thought are most happily successful. It is a delight to find a writer who can discuss prosody without miring himself in shop-worn technicalities, who is never pedantic, and who still retains his sense of humor. The combination is not often found.

Panama Canal Conflict (The). By L. Oppenheim, M.A., LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 75c.

This is a concise and authoritative argument for the stand which England has taken in the matter of Canal tolls. Professor Oppenheim believes, as does The Outlook, that the questions at issue should be settled by arbitration.

Autographs of St. Paul (The). By Marcus D. Buell. Eaton & Mains, New York. 35c.

A convenient, scholarly, and suggestive little handbook, of value for the layman or busy clergyman who desires to see the reasons for believing in the Pauline authorship of the first ten Epistles attributed to Paul in our English Bible, with a fair-minded consideration of the objections to the Pauline authorship of the three Pastoral Epistles, I and II Timothy and Titus, and the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews.

Britannica Year-Book (The). The Encyclopædia Britannica Company, New York. $1.75.

This convenient and compact Year-Book is the first issued by the publishers of the Encyclopædia Britannica, under the direction of the editor of the eleventh edition of that great work, Mr. Hugh Chisholm. It contains in its five hundred pages a detailed survey of the work and history of the world in 1912. About two hundred pages are devoted to American subjects. The intent, to quote the editor's statement, is to deal "in an interesting way with new events and additions to knowledge, with the existing state of things in every sphere, with substantial changes, real advances, and essential progress." Such recent events as the Pamama Canal controversy, the Balkan-Turkish war, and, going a little further back, the Italian-Turkish war, and the Titanic disaster are among the topics that strike the eye at once. But every department is covered; and the sections devoted to science, political history, and political economy are particularly full. The volume is a valuable reference book, taking it alone, and as a supplement to the Britannica itself will be welcome to all who have that work.

What is New Thought? By Charles Brodie Patterson. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1.

The basis of New Thought, as taught here, was taught by Jesus and by Paul:—God lives in man, and man lives in God. Man's spiritual self must therefore be consciously centered in God, and human wills must be brought into conscious unity with his will. Only thus can our higher self master our lower or animal self, and realize the normal life of a child of the Eternal. This is new thought only to those who have not yet learned it as old. Nor is it new thought that many bodily disorders spring from a disordered state of mind, and need mind-cure only. So also, long before it was announced as new thought, Tennyson wrote—

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

These and cognate truths for individual and social application are prominent in this volume, and give it a serviceable value which is lessened by its doubtful theorizing on harmonic and magnetic vibration, and its utterly groundless teaching that "all sorrow, suffering, disease, and death have their origin in Fear."

Essays on Taxation. By E. R. A. Seligman. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.

A new and eighth edition of a recognized work of authority. It has been so revised and enlarged with reference to recent decisions and discussions as to make practically a new work.

The Penalty. By Gouverneur Morris. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.35.

Mr. Morris's short stories have been original. Now he puts forth a full-sized novel which is too original. It reads like the dream of a modern hashish-eater who had browsed on yellow fiction until he talks of the fantastic and horrible in terms of modern New York, but through incidents that seem to be imagined only in a lunatic asylum.

Nogi. By Stanley Washburn. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.

As the first gun boomed out announcing the departure of the body of the Mikado to its final resting-place, a grizzled Japanese soldier and his loyal wife, waiting in their home in Tokyo, quietly took their own lives. Thus died by his own hand the last of a long line of Samurai. General Baron Nogi knew how to unite the spirit of the old Japan with the advanced civilization of the new. That knowledge made him the captor of Port Arthur, the decisive factor in the final battle of the war with Russia. Mr. Washburn had ample opportunity for seeing Nogi at his terrible task of taking Port Arthur. Later in Manchuria the association became closer even to the point of intimacy. In his little book Mr. Washburn has not attempted even a biographical sketch; he has drawn a portrait of "a man against the background of a great war." The portrait is drawn from the life. Of the accuracy of its details those who did not know its subject can hardly judge. But any one who reads the volume cannot help but feel that the portrait lives.

Synonyms, Antonyms, and Associated Words. By Louis A. Flemming. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

A convenient and well-arranged reference book containing material originally prepared and adapted as an easy help in time of literary trouble.

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BY THE WAY

The expense of graduation dresses and of the flowers that are often a feature at graduation exercises has moved the Passaic (New Jersey) High School authorities, it is reported, to offer prizes for the prettiest graduation dresses made by the graduates themselves at a cost not exceeding $5, and to prohibit altogether the presentation of flowers. The unhappiness that sometimes mars such occasions for the less wealthy students will thus, it is hoped, be averted.

William Winter, writing of Edwin Booth in "Collier's," says that when Booth in his latter days had successfully established his clubhouse "The Players," he did not wish to travel far from his own rooms in the house. "I have traveled so much!" he said; "and wherever I go people want to entertain me, and I have no peace. Here is my bed, and here is the fire, and here are the books" (and they remain there to this day, just as the great actor left them)—"and," Mr. Winter concludes, with a pardonable revelation of friendship, "here *you* come to see me."

"Eight thousand Levantine Jewish refugees have applied for Spanish naturalization," says a despatch from Madrid, "and most of the requests have been granted." And yet it was Spain that expelled the Jews, with merciless severity, in the fifteenth century!

"The presentation of the old Pittsburgh home of Stephen Collins Foster," says "Musical America," "is a cheerful evidence of the appreciation of this first characteristic American musical genius." The paper adds that the tradition that Foster's popular melodies were derived from Negro songs is unfounded. The music of "Old Uncle Ned," "The Old Folks at Home," etc., was formed on European models.

The Florence Crittenton rescue work for women is reported to care for from 5,000 to 10,000 women and girls yearly. The work, founded thirty years years ago by Charles N. Crittenton, now has seventy branches in different parts of this country, and also has homes in France, in China and Japan, and in Mexico. It is a pitiful and suggestive fact that, as reported, "95 per cent of the applicants for help at the homes are of high school age."

"For everything under the sun there's a reason or there's none," says the old saw, and, following its further advice, "If there is one, try to find it," German savants have been disputing as to the reason for the singing of telegraph wires. One reasoner says the sounds are caused by changes in the weather, and that infallible weather predictions could be made from the sounds; another says the sounds are made by a "seismic unrest;" while a third upholds the theory that the wind is the vocalist—the latter seeming to have the best of the argument.

An Eastern traveler, describing the effects of an accidental overdose of hashish, says that when the drug began to take effect, a chance remark set him off into fits of laughter, which continued till he was exhausted. These paroxysms recurred at intervals, interrupted by interminable reveries on subjects most strange and diverse. The retardation of time was a curious phenomenon; the raising of the hand to the head seemed to take several minutes. The intoxication lasted twenty-four hours, and its after effects were so unpleasant as to dissuade the subject from further experiment.

"Dormant accounts" in savings banks are those which have not been added to or subtracted from for a certain number of years, varying in different States. In Massachusetts these accounts eventually, after being advertised, revert to the State. Boston papers recently contained thirty-two columns of names of persons owning these "dormant accounts." Most of the deposits thus abandoned are, it is said, small in amount.

"Within the next five or ten years," says Mr. Ernest Poole, playwright and Socialist, as reported in the "Dramatic Mirror," "I expect more and more radical plays to get a hearing on our stage. The stage is almost wholly an aristocratic institution—at least where the orchestra seats cost two dollars. . . . To object to preaching in the theater is like objecting to life there too, for preaching is a very important part of life. People like a play that preaches strongly."

Poultry panaceas, says a Michigan farm journal, are largely fakes. It analyzes one of these hen tonics that claims to "tone up the dormant egg organs and take the hen out of the loafer class," and finds that the ingredients cost about one cent and are hardly worth it, while the farmer is expected to pay 25 cents for the preparation. The analyzer doubts whether any mixture of drugs will make a hen lay eggs when she doesn't want to.

The carefully edited "Christian Science Monitor," of Boston, does not make its creed offensively obtrusive. In a recent issue the titles of its editorial articles were: "Tariff and Books," "Trees to Fringe Cape Cod Canal," "Those Who Rent Must Still Move," "Manhattan's Coliseum," "Japan's Appeal," "Growth of the Motor Truck Industry," etc. These little essays might just as well have been written by one who had not "come into Science," so far as any attempt at Christian Science propaganda is concerned, as they contain not the least allusion to Mrs. Eddy's faith.

The French are sometimes supposed to regard America as "barbarous," but the French Government apparently thinks American social conditions worth studying, for it has sent Mme. Alice de la Ruelle, a member of the French Bar, to the United States to study the life of working-girls here. Mme. de la Ruelle is reported as saying that women in France are taking men's places in certain occupations, but that when the competition grows too strong the men might find a remedy by marrying the girls!

A Frenchman with a Teutonic name, Professor Lichtenberger, pays this tribute to Germany: "The worship of force is increasing in Germany. But it must be confessed that the power the Germans revere is not brutal, tyrannical, capricious, and arbitrary force, which delights in stupid oppression or denies all rights. They worship intelligent and deliberate power which imposes itself lawfully through its own virtue."

The oldest war-ship in the world is probably the Victory, Lord Nelson's flag-ship at Trafalgar, which is still afloat at Portsmouth, England. She is now 147 years old, having been launched in 1767. On the anniversary of her greatest victory, October 21, Nelson's famous signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty," is hoisted on the famous old ship.

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